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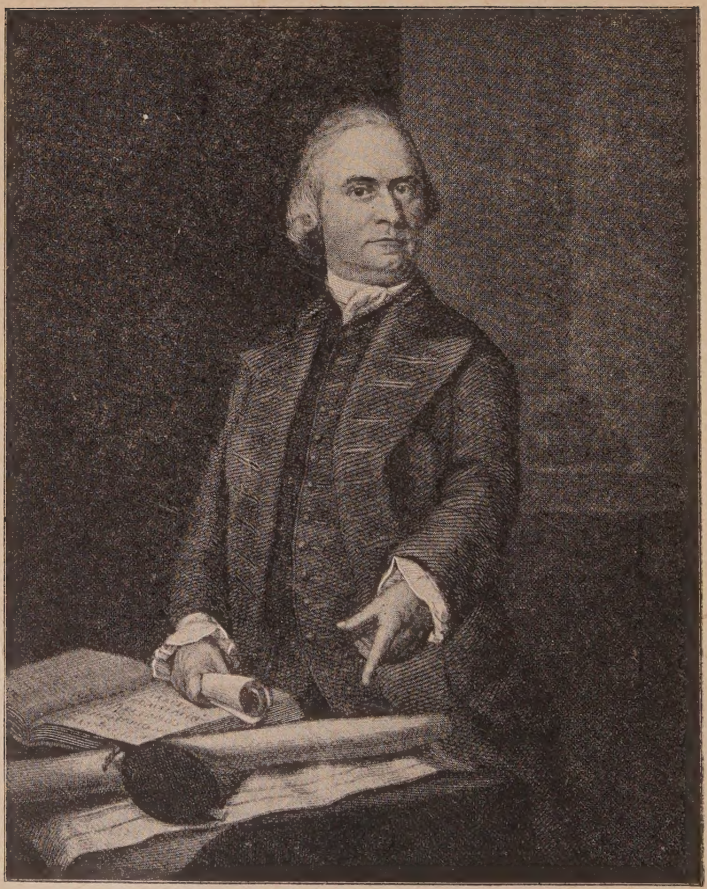

Sam^l Adams

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Great Americans of History

SAMUEL ADAMS

A CHARACTER SKETCH

BY

SAMUEL FALLOWS, D.D., LL.D.

Late Supt. of Public Instruction of Wisconsin; Ex-Pres. Illinois Wesleyan University, and Chancellor of The University Association.

WITH SUPPLEMENTARY ESSAY, BY

G. MERCER ADAM

Late Editor of "Self-Culture" Magazine, Etc., Etc.

TOGETHER WITH

ANECDOTES, CHARACTERISTICS, AND CHRONOLOGY

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SAMUEL ADAMS

BY
SAMUEL FALLOWS D.D., LL.D.
CHANCELLOR, THE UNIVERSITY ASSOCIATION.

THERE is, properly speaking, no ancient history, no medieval history, no modern history. History is one. The ages are all united. Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Palestine, Greece, Rome, Holland, France, Spain, Germany and England, all have to do with the practical life of Americans to-day. Lessons of importance can be learned from each of them to help us act intelligently in performance of the duties devolved upon us.

It has been well said, "There is no romance like the romance of history. Indeed in a large sense history is romance; for life itself is strange and mysterious; and all its happenings are filled with dramatic elements which need but the touch of imagination to glow, as the dull carbon flashes into light when quickened by the electric current.

"All the years have voices for them that will hear; and even the simple annals of common place events have in them the heart of epic possibilities."

English and American history are full of dramatic incidents. The important epochs in both nations have been distinctly marked by stirring scenes and events.

The English Revolution under Cromwell, that greatest

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of Britian's rulers was the forerunner of the American Revolution.

Charles the First who, unfortunately, lived again in spirit in George the Third, was brought to the scaffold for trampling upon the liberties of his English subjects.

Out of the conflict with this Monarch, who was not a King by divine right, but by the forebearance and long suffering of a down trodden people, sprang the Puritan Age. From this were born New England, the English influence in America, and the English Settlements of the American Colonies.

The inhabitants of the four New England Colonies, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, in 1750 were most of them the great grandsons and great great grandsons of the thousand Puritans who crossed the ocean between 1620 and 1640 and settled New England. Scarcely two men in a hundred were of other than English blood.

These men in general owned the ground on which they lived. Nearly every one could read and write and above all, could think.

The white people in the Southern States were also distinctively English, although they represented the Cavalier type of character in contrast with the Puritan type of the New England inhabitants.

And while there must be a due acknowledgement of the powerful influences exerted by the Revolutionary men of the South in the development of American thought and life, the palm must be conceded to New England. And to-day "complex as our population has become,

while it is true that we are New Ireland and New Germany and New France, it is still New England in the broadest sense of that term, which dominates and prescribes the institutions which shape this great republic and the ideas that control its destiny."

We may add in confirmation of the truth of this statement the keen observation of the philosophical De Tocquevelle who says, "The civilization of New England has been like a beacon light upon a hill, which, after it has diffused its warmth immediately around it, also tinges the distant horizon with its glow."

The Teutonic people handed down to their English descendants the "Folkmote," which appeared later in the New England town-meeting.

Each New England town was called by Gordon, a writer at the time of the Revolution, "an incorporated Republic." All the people of the town were warned to attend a meeting when called upon by selectmen, who might act upon their own authority, or upon the application of a certain number of townsmen.

All of the people were on a level of political equality. Each individual had the right of delivering his own opinion, no matter how poor and humble. These New England town-meetings played a most important part in the history of American Independence.

Massachusetts, then including Maine, contained 210,000 inhabitants, and numbered more than two hundred towns. In these particulars she was the foremost of all the American colonies. While her own soil suffered little as compared with the Center and South from military

devastation, she was the foremost in making sacrifices for the common good.

New England had a population a little more than one-third of the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies, and yet she furnished 118,251 of the 231,791 continental troops called into service.

Massachusetts contributed more than one-fourth of the

King Charles I.

number, or about 69,907 men. In the same proportion she furnished money and supplies. This colony had a people that were welded together in their thoughts, habits and associations. The Tories were not very num-

erous within her bounds as there were comparatively but few of them in any of the New England Colonies, but they were very active.

"Boston led Massachusetts and Massachusetts led the thirteen colonies." This city was the center of attack by George the Third and his ministers. Instead of using the term American or New Englander, many of the English writers used to speak of "Bostoneers," as though the fight were to be carried on against the people of that city alone.

We are ever to keep in mind that the American Revolution was the revolt of Englishmen against the despotism of the English Crown. "The conflict of the Boston town meetings," says Edwin D. Mead, "and the Virginia House of Burgesses with King George was precisely a repetition of the old conflict between Parliament and King Charles, an uprising of Englishmen against lawlessness and tyrannical assertion of prerogative."

It was the old English liberties that Patrick Henry was defending when he made his ringing assertion. "Charles the First had his Cromwell." These liberties were just as much assailed in England as in America then.

Divine Providence raised up Cromwell and his followers in the Old World to fight for law and liberty there. The same Providence sent brave John Winthrop and his devoted band to the New World to provide a home for their brethren should they fail in their momentous struggle.

Before Massachusetts was five years old, and before it

numbered five thousand souls, it was ready for war with King Charles. For when it heard that a royal governor was to be sent from England in opposition to its charter, it appropriated six hundred pounds to fortify its harbor.

It was not the English Nation that was in opposition to the American Colonies. It is the supreme mistake of history to have that impression prevail. Louis the Fourteenth could arrogantly say, "The State, it is myself;" but he was not the French people, he was their bitterest foe. The satellites that swarmed round his throne and wrested their means of sensual luxury from the toil and blood of the millions of France, were not the French people. Charles the First who, preceding him, wished to be an English Louis the Fourteenth, and George the Third, who, "industrious as a beaver and obstinate as a mule," ardently desired, foreigner though he was, to be the English State, were not the English people.

Louis XIV.

The merchants and traders that selfishly sided with Parliament for the restriction of the American trade

were not the English Nation. Nor were those churchmen, that would have crushed out non-conformity, and imposed a haughty, mitred prelacy upon unwilling and remonstrating religionists, the English people.

The gallant British tars went round the world in the old oaken walls of England, singing,

"Rule Britannia, Britannia rules the waves,
Britons never, never will be slaves."

The American Colonists, with the iron of the English common people in their blood, sent back the defiant shout to King George and the men about him whom he had bought and corrupted, "Britons never, never will be slaves." And they made good that proud English boast in the formation of the United States of America.

It was the narrow-minded, illiberal, selfseeking, ruling class that brought upon England her difficulties and caused the separation.

When Grenville was defeated as minister, Townshend was appointed in his stead.

Smarting under his defeat, Grenville sneered out from his place to the treasury bench.

"You are cowards; you are afraid of the Americans; you dare not tax America." Stung by this taunt, Townshend started passionately from his seat exclaiming: "Fear! Cowards! Dare not tax America! I dare tax America."

"This boyish bravado," which reflected however the fixed purpose of George the Third, "ushered in the Bill which was to cost England thirteen Colonies, add one hundred millions to her National debt, and fix a stigma

for many years upon her national fame." But Grenville and Townshend and Lord North with others of their kind were not the true exponents of English thought and feeling.

Almost every man whose opinion had real worth was on the side of the struggling patriots.

The noblest of English statesmen like Chatham and Pitt and Burke, with Walpole and Fox, had not lost the spirit of Cromwell and Milton, nor forgotten the treachery of the Stuarts.

Lord North.

They knew they were contending for the rights of Englishmen at home, for proper parliamentary representation, when pleading for the rights of Americans abroad.

Great cities like Manchester and Sheffield had no representatives in parliament, while "rotten boroughs" which had scarcely any or no inhabitants sent up members to be the willing tools of George the Third.

The new whigs, as they were termed, headed by Chat-

ham were laboring heart and soul for reform. Josiah Quincy Jr. heard Chatham's memorable speech in the house of Lords on January 20, 1775, on the recalling of the troops from Boston. He said: "My Lords, these three millions of whigs—three millions of whigs, my lords, with arms in their hands, are a very formidable body. It was the whigs, my lords, that set his majesty's royal ancestors on the throne of England. I hope my lords, there are yet double the number of whigs in England that there are in America.

Robert Walpole, Earl of Oxford.

"I hope the whigs of both countries will join and make a common cause.

"Ireland is with the Americans to a man. The whigs of that country will, and those of this country ought to think the American cause their own.

"They are allied to each other in sentiment and interest, united in one great principle of defense against tyranny and oppression."

In the House of Commons, Pitt exclaimed, "I rejoice that America has resisted." "Thank God," exclaimed

Walpole, on hearing the news of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, "Old England is safe."

Boston, the largest city in America in 1740, was considered, as we have seen, the storm center of the Revolution, and the moving spirit in the stirring events taking place, was Samuel Adams, justly termed "The Father of the Revolution."

Says Wendell Phillips, "A demagogue rides the storm, he has no ability to create one. He uses it narrowly, ignorantly, and for selfish ends."

William Pitt.

Not a demagogue, but a true statesman was Samuel Adams. He not only created a storm such as had never before been seen in the realm of George the Third, but he triumphantly rode it.

He did not use it narrowly, but for the good of a continent and the world. He did not use it ignorantly, but with a wisdom never before surpassed. He did not use it selfishly, for no patriot was more disinterested in the services he rendered his country.

For the conspicuous position which he was to occupy before the world he brought a rare combination of sterling qualities. He possessed natural wit and genuine

eloquence that fitted him for any audience. He wielded a ready pen and could put into clear, compact and sturdy English, easily comprehended by the common mind, his calm or burning thoughts.

He conducted the first political newspaper published in Boston which, long before the Revolution, proclaimed itself the champion of the rights and liberties of mankind.

He mastered thoroughly the principles of the English Constitution, and in his fearless application of them to the poor and lowly, to those "who wore a leathern cap or a worsted apron," he received the proud appellation of "The Tribune of the people."

Keen intelligence, a fascinating personality, persuasive talk, indomitable courage, spotless integrity, unwearied energy, unselfish devotion, broad sympathy, with an unshaken faith in God and the divine decrees, were among the elements of his massive strength and commanding influence.

He had, too, the peculiar instinct of genius that led him to acts, which, as Voltaire said, "foolish men call rash, but wise men brave."

The sternness of his purpose and the austerity of his religiousness won for him the name of "The Last of the Puritans." It was a happy conjunction to link the two names together, "The Father of the Revolution" and "The Last of the Puritans," in the one who best embodied the spirit of the American contest for political and religious freedom.

"Sam Adams," says Edwin D. Mead, "was simply a man of the English Commonwealth moved another

century down the line of history. He was simply another John Hampden, or better a John Pym, doing his work under American conditions a hundred years later."

But though he was deemed strait-laced in his theological belief, he was just as liberal in his political creed. He was at once a Jeffersonian and a Calvinist.

John Hancock.

There were men who found fault with him because of his broad, democratic principles, and because of his tenacity and energy in maintaining them. But "white livered indifference is always disgusted and annoyed with earnest conviction."

He was the animating spirit of that band of immortal Americans of whom we shall never grow weary of speaking. All were indebted to him, for sympathy, counsel or the helping hand extended to them. Among them were:

"James Otis, so vehement, so wild in his support of liberty, the British called him mad, yet the purest of

patriots, and possessed of soul-stirring eloquence: John Adams,ardent, eloquent, learned. John Hancock, whose wealth and social position and lavish hospitality gave him great influence:

"Joseph Warren, the skilful physician, chivalric in spirit, magnetic in social life, with judgment beyond his years: Josiah Quincy, the Boston Cicero,and Paul Revere, the ingenious goldsmith, ready to engrave a lampoon, rally a caucus, or in his capacity of dentist, fit teeth for any who needed that service, which he warranted they could TALK with, if they could not eat with them."

It was of these and others, like William Phillips, the merchant prince, and Thomas Cushing, afterwards a somewhat zigzag statesman, that the Tories wrote to England, "The young Bostonians are bred up hypocrites in religion and pettifoggers at law; the demons of folly, falsehood, madness and rebellion having entered into the Boston saints, along with their chief, the angel of darkness." (Samuel Adams.)

Governor Bernard wrote with a strong expletive,—"Samuel Adams! every dip of his pen stings like a horned snake." There was no doubt about the reality of the feeling of the governor, whatever may be urged against the accuracy of his zoological illustration.

Admiral Montague forcibly expressed the wishes of many of the King's supporters, when he wrote:

"I doubt not but that I shall hear Mr. Samuel Adams is hanged or shot before many months are at an end. I hope so at least."

In personal appearance, Samuel Adams was but little

above the medium height, but his erect carriage gave him the appearance of being tall.

He had a florid complexion, clear dark blue eyes, and heavy, almost bushy, eyebrows. He had a countenance that was both benignant and majestic, which always attracted while it impressed strangers.

Though cordial in manner there was always a little formality about him.

He wore to the end of his life, the tie-wig, cocked hat, knee-breeches, buckled shoes and red cloak.

He would have worn them, according to the custom of the times, had he been elected President, unlike Thomas Jefferson, whom he greatly admired. (It will be remembered that Mr. Jefferson was the first President of the United States who wore trousers instead of knee-breeches, in token of his pronounced democratic sympathies.)

The ancestors of Samuel Adams were English, with possibly a mixture of Celtic blood, through remote Welsh progenitors.

The founder of the Adams family in America, so numerous and so renowned, was Henry Adams, who settled at an early date near Mount Wollaston, in Quincy, Massachusetts. Joseph Adams, of Braintree, and John Adams, a sea captain, were his grandsons.

Joseph Adams was the grandfather of President John Adams, and John was the grandfather of Samuel Adams, the subject of this sketch. Thus John Adams and Samuel Adams were cousins.

The second son of Captain John Adams was Samuel

Adams, who was born in Boston, May 6, 1689. At the age of twenty-four he was married to Mary Fifield. Twelve children proceeded from this union, of whom three only survived their father.

Samuel Adams, our Revolutionary hero, their most illustrious child, was born in Purchase Street, Boston, September 16, 1722. There is but little account given of his mother, except that she was strictly devotional according to the puritan standards. She left a lasting impress upon the boy Samuel, through her rigidly pious character, giving him that moral stamina for which he was so conspicuous. The sober cast of his nature was also derived from her. His father was a man who paid close attention to business affairs, and so accumulated an ample fortune.

Old South Church, Boston.

He bought, in 1712, a fine estate in Purchase Street, which extended to the low water line of the harbor. Upon it had been erected a large and substantial man-

sion, which, fronting the water, commanded an excellent view.

He was possessed of eminent qualities, and was highly esteemed in the community in which he lived.

He was ardently fond of politics, and was interested in all matters of public concern.

"He became justice of the peace, deacon of the Old South Church, then an office of dignity, select man, one of the important committee of the town to instruct the representatives to the Assembly, and at length entered the Assembly itself."

He was one of the founders of "The Calker's Club" (or Caulker's), about the year 1724, a political organization, largely representing the shipping interests, designed "to lay plans for introducing certain persons into places of trust and power."

From this term, "calkers," by an easy corruption, one of the best known terms in American politics, the "caucus," has come. Young Adams, who was familiarly known to his contemporaries as "Sam" Adams, attended school in the wooden structure in School Street, just in the rear of King's Chapel. The story is told that such was his regularity or punctuality in going to school that the laborers regulated their hours of work by him.

Whatever may be its truth, he must have been an industrious and studious boy, for he was prepared to enter Harvard College at the age of fourteen. He had the benefit of the instruction of Mr. Lovell, a celebrated teacher of the Latin or Grammar School of Boston,

where so many boys, who afterwards became famous, received their education.

His college course was a brilliant one. Only once during his four year's attendance was he subjected to reproof for oversleeping himself and missing prayers, which then were held at what would now appear to be an unseasonable hour.

Class rank in Harvard College was then determined by social position and wealth, so totally different from the present grading in this most venerable seat of learning. In a class of twenty-two Adams ranked fifth.

He was especially fond of the Latin and Greek authors, as the numerous quotations from the classics in his writings attest. He never deplored, as Charles Francis Adams has done in our day, that he paid so much attention to these Dead Languages and so little to the living German and French tongues.

While at the University he was serious and secluded, although not unsociable. But he made a business of study and not an amusement.

When he was graduated, with honor in 1740, John Adams was five years old, and Josiah Quincy and Joseph Warren were yet unborn.

James Otis was graduated three years, and Josiah Quincy twenty-three years after Adams.

John Adams completed his college course fifteen years after the graduation of Samuel.

The youthful Adams was both remarkable for the uprightness of his demeanor and for the frugality of his habits, while at college.

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The writer of this sketch once heard a former Professor of Harvard, whose name is one of the most honored in American ecclesiastical and educational circles, say, with marked emphasis, "God save Harvard from being a University of rich men's sons."

But if all the sons of the rich patrons of this great institution were like Sam Adams, the fear, contained in the prayer, of possible spendthrift habits, wildness of life and inattention to study, would not be realized.

Out of the stipend allowed him by his father, Adams saved a sum sufficient to publish an original pamphlet, entitled, "Englishmen's Rights." Surely coming events were casting their shadows before.

The key-note of his long life of over eighty years was thus sounded early, and never changed—"Englishmen's Rights."

Nay, the few fragments that remain written in a boy's hand in his school books, were on liberty.

His favorite topic for debates in college societies was liberty. Three years after graduation, he received in 1743 the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard. The thesis from which he wrote on that occasion was the significant one,

"Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved?"

Liberty! liberty! liberty! was thus his ruling idea.

The new governor, Shirley, the appointee of George the Second, and the dignitaries of the land, including the Crown officials, were among the large audience as-

sembled to hear the youthful and bold speaker strike the key-note of "incipient treason."

What was thought of this address is not recorded, neither has the manuscript of the thesis been preserved.

The year that Samuel Adams entered Harvard was the same in which the Earl of Chatham entered Parliament, so that he must have witnessed the whole of that great statesman's splendid career.

This distinguished Englishman exerted a profound influence upon the life and character of the liberty-loving young American, whose name was afterwards to become a household word throughout the English speaking world, as familiar as his own.

Samuel Adams was first designed by his parents for the ministry. But a wide study of history and governmental subjects led him in the direction of the law and politics.

His mother, however, disapproved of the law, which, in those days, was hardly recognized as a profession. It was not looked upon with particular favor by parents who aspired for an honorable career for their children.

He, therefore, entered the mercantile profession, and engaged in the service of Thomas Cushing, a prominent Boston merchant. But he had "neither taste nor tact for business" we are told, and soon relinquished it.

His father's fortune having become diminished through unfortunate plans and investments, Samuel became associated with him in his malting enterprise.

Upon the death of his father in 1748, he was solely interested in the management of the malt-house.

This afforded great merriment to the satirists and lampooners of the day, who dubbed him, "Sam, the Maltster."

We are told that Admiral Coffin, in quite a different spirit, was fond of relating that he had often carried malt on his back from Mr. Adams' brewery.

But having no aptitude for trade, no love for its competitions, and no desire for its gains, he did not make a successful maltster. Public affairs, too, began to absorb his time and attention.

He was, doubtless, held up to view by his critics as a forceful illustration of a man who, in minding other people's business, was neglecting his own. But the common good very often demands the sacrifice of private interests.

On October 17, 1749, he married Elizabeth Checkley, the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Checkley. This minister was his father's most intimate friend, and a gentleman of great intelligence and ability. The mother of Miss Checkley was the little Elizabeth Rolfe, who so marvelously escaped from the Indians at the Haverhill massacre, the story of which is narrated in the latter part of this sketch.

Mrs. Elizabeth Adams is described "as a woman of rare beauty and piety, as well as elegance of person and manner."

She died after a brief but happy wedded life of eight years, leaving two children.

Samuel Adams put on record in the family Bible this tribute to her memory:

"To her husband she was as sincere a friend as she was a faithful wife. Her exact economy in all her relative capacities, her kindred on this side as well as on her own admire.

"She ran her Christian race with remarkable steadiness, and finished in triumph. She left two small children. God grant they may inherit her graces."

The year following his wife's death an incident occurred which attracted wide-spread attention, and which had an important bearing upon future events.

Samuel Adams' father, years before, had been interested, with other prominent persons, in a Land Bank scheme to help the public finances, which were seriously affected by the injurious legislation of the British Parliament.

By an arbitrary act, Parliament dissolved the Bank in 1743, which was the chief cause of the monetary embarrassment of the elder Adams.

It was, doubtless, this arbitrary proceeding which prompted Samuel Adams to write the startling thesis, before mentioned, on receiving his master's degree that same year.

Ten years after his father had been in his grave, and seventeen years after the affair had taken place, Mr. Adams was greatly startled to read in the Boston News Letter of August, 1758, that the property he had inherited would be sold at auction "under the hand and seal of the Hon. Commissioners for the more speedy finishing the Land Bank or Manufactory scheme."

Mr. Adams gave notice the following week to the

Sheriff, of his determination to resist any such illegal and unwarrantable act. Very prudently this officer took no further action, and the estate was undisturbed.

But the occurrence gave Mr. Adams *his first opportunity* to avow openly his opposition to the exercise of arbitrary Parliamentary rule in the Colony.

From 1756 to 1764 Samuel Adams was annually elected one of the tax collectors.

The financial difficulties which beset the people on every hand, doubtless prevented them from making prompt payments.

But the humanity of Samuel Adams and his want of business vigor, made him a very poor tax collector. The arrearages in consequence amounted to quite a sum.

Many of the Tories made this deficiency a ground of accusation against the honesty of Mr. Adams. Governor Hutchinson, in his History, termed it a "defalcation."

But the candid judgment of those who have thoroughly investigated the matter, is conclusive, that his "ill success as a collector was excusable if not unavoidable."

More than one eminent man has failed in an uncongenial sphere of work, who has achieved a signal success when the proper opportunity has been given him. Providence very clearly designed Samuel Adams for something else than "sitting at the receipt of custom," however important that may be.

Like Matthew the Publican, "Samuel the Publican," as his political adversaries humorously called him, had another place to fill as The Apostle of American Freedom.

The fall of Quebec, through the intrepid General Wolfe and his brave command, which meant the destruction of the power of France on this continent had an important bearing, in at least two particulars, upon the position of affairs in Massachusetts.

The colonial troops had shown themselves possessed of military prowess while fighting by the side of the regular troops of Great Britain against Montcalm. This gave them self-confidence—"the iron string to which all hearts vibrate." To it the brave, stout hearts of

"The Continentals
In their ragged regimentals,"

vibrated gloriously a few years afterwards when they were pitted against the best soldiery of England.

General James Wolfe.

The seven years war had left the Mother Country with an enormous debt. Her victories on land and sea over her enemies had brought into her possession all French America and all India.

To maintain her naval supremacy which she had won, particularly over her defeated rival, France, meant a vast financial responsibility.

Grenville, then the prime minister, began to exact vigorously the neglected customs and imposts.

The contraband trade which had been carried on be-

tween the New England ports and the French West Indies was seriously curtailed.

This trade, which was really smuggling, was an absolute necessity to the colonists, on account of the unjust restrictions which Parliament had put upon them, by demanding that all commerce should pass directly through English hands.

"Writs of assistance," as they were termed, were ordered by Grenville for use in America. By these writs, authority was granted to the officers of customs, giving them authority to search the houses of persons suspected of smuggling.

This intrusion into private houses was considered a great outrage, and the people indignantly resented it.

James Otis, the younger, was at this time the official adviser of the government as Advocate-general, an honorable and lucrative position. It was his duty as a crown officer to defend the case of the officers of customs. He, however, refused to do so, and at once resigned his commission.

He took the part of the colonists, and in this most memorable period in America's history became one of its foremost characters.

The thrilling speech he delivered on this occasion has been preserved for us in the notes taken by John Adams, who was present with Samuel Adams on that eventful day. For nearly five hours the learned, bold and eloquent orator was on his feet. In impassioned language he denounced taxation without representation,—the future watchwords of the American cause; for from that day,

"Taxation without representation is tyranny," was the rallying cry of the masses of the people.

Early in 1765 Grenville introduced into Parliament the Stamp Act bill, notice of which had been given some time before. While in some portions of the colonies the prospective scheme had not been received with disfavor, it met in Boston the most determined opposition. One year before Patrick Henry's famous Virginia Resolutions appeared, which set all the country in a blaze, Samuel Adams had given his views upon this crucial question.

On the twenty-fourth of May, 1764, he submitted to the town meeting of Boston a paper which contained the first public denial of the right of Parliament to put the Stamp Act scheme into effect.

It is the first public document that can be directly traced to his pen, although there is not the slightest doubt that he had written in the same direction before.

On a paper yellow with age, in a neat, firm handwriting, we can read the very opening sentences of the great book of Freedom, which America was so soon to write by her statesmen and heroes for all the world to read. Adams says:

"If taxes are laid upon us in any shape without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the Character of Free Subjects to the miserable state of tributary Slaves? We claim British rights not by charter only! we are born to them."

The same document contained the first suggestion of a union of the colonies for the redress of their grievances

in the instructions given. It reads as follows:

"As his Majesty's other Northern American Colonies are embarked with us in this most important Bottom, we further desire you to use your Endeavors that their weight may be added to that of this Province: that by the united Application of all who are Aggrieved, all may happily attain Redress."

One of the measures proposed by the crown was to pay the Judges out of the royal treasury, instead of having them paid as heretofore by the general Assembly. This would have made the judiciary the mere creatures of the king.

Old State House, Boston, in front of which occurred the "Boston Massacre."

Samuel Adams asserted in this historical paper the important position that the judges should continue to be dependent for their salaries upon the Assembly.

He also intimated that if the proper measures were not taken, it would be deemed necessary to import no goods from Britain, in order to retaliate upon British manufacturers.

At this period Adams was forty-two years of age, in the very prime of life, although his hair was beginning

to turn gray. He had also a kind of tremulousness of the head and hands, which seemed to indicate the advance of a premature old age. But he had not impaired his constitution with any excesses. His frame was as sound as oak. There was no tremulousness in his heart every beat of which was for the liberties of the people.

He had met with misfortunes. Business had failed. His patrimony had nearly all gone. Death had invaded his home. His fair fame was under a cloud on account of his arrearages as tax collector. But he had a mind conscious of rectitude, a sublime faith in God, and an unfaltering hope in the future. So without despondency and full of cheer he continued in his noble career.

When the legislature met in June, 1764, James Otis prepared a memorial to be sent to the agent of the colony in England, containing almost the very words of the suggestions of Samuel Adams. This memorial was to be given to the English public.

Following also the spirit of the instructions contained in the document prepared by Adams, a committee was appointed to send an address to the Assemblies of the sister colonies, advising united action to maintain their common rights.

On December 6, 1764, Samuel Adams married for his second wife Elizabeth Wells, daughter of Francis Wells, Esq., an English merchant. This gentleman had come over, some years before, in his own ship, "ye *Hampstead* galley," with his family and possessions.

The second Mrs. Adams was in every respect a helpmeet to her husband, walking side by side with him

through forty years of an eventful life. She was a woman of refinement and culture, full of sympathy and warm appreciation. With all her other accomplishments, she possessed a genuine New England genius for economy, making the best possible use of a slender income.

As Prof. Hosmer says: "It indeed required no common virtue to do this, for while Samuel Adams superintended the birth of the child Independence, he was quite careless how the table at home was spread, and as to the condition of his own children's clothes and shoes. More than once his family would have become objects of charity if the hands of his wife had not been ready and skilful."

Mrs. Adams maintained a hospitable, genial home, where no stranger ever dreamed that any essential comforts of life were missing.

George the Third, turning his back upon Pitt, listened to the advice of Bute, who has been termed an unprincipled Scotch adventurer. Through him the Sugar Bill was re-enacted, which imposed a duty upon sugar, coffee, indigo and the like, imported into the colonies from the West Indies.

This was followed by the passage of the Stamp Act, Grenville's scheme, which declared that no legal instrument of writing should be valid unless it bore a government stamp. Among its provisions were the charge of two pounds sterling for a diploma or certificate of a college degree.

Beckford, Conway, Jackson and Col. Barré strenuously opposed Grenville and his measure in Parliament.

The speech of Col. Barré on this occasion, is a marvel of fervid eloquence, and known to every American school boy of proper age and training.

The passage of the Bill was the entering wedge which severed the colonies from allegiance to the throne.

In Virginia the indignant utterances of Patrick Henry

Auchmuty House, Boston. Associated with Stamp Act. Safety Committee met here.

burst forth, which were like the blasts of a martial trumpet sounding the approaching Revolution.

The excitement was intense in Boston, and the indignation in the Province beyond words to express.

A riot broke out on the twelfth of August, in which the infuriated people burnt in effigy Lord Bute and Oli-

ver, the Stamp distributor, besides doing damage to property.

Samuel Adams and his compatriots promptly denounced these proceedings, but with unwavering determination opposed the execution of the obnoxious act.

Mr. Adams drew up the fourteen Resolves of the Boston Assembly, affirming the unlawfulness of the action of Parliament, and asserting the inalienable rights of the colonists as British subjects.

These were termed by the king's minions in England, "the ravings of a parcel of wild enthusiasts," but they made a profound impression on the whole Province.

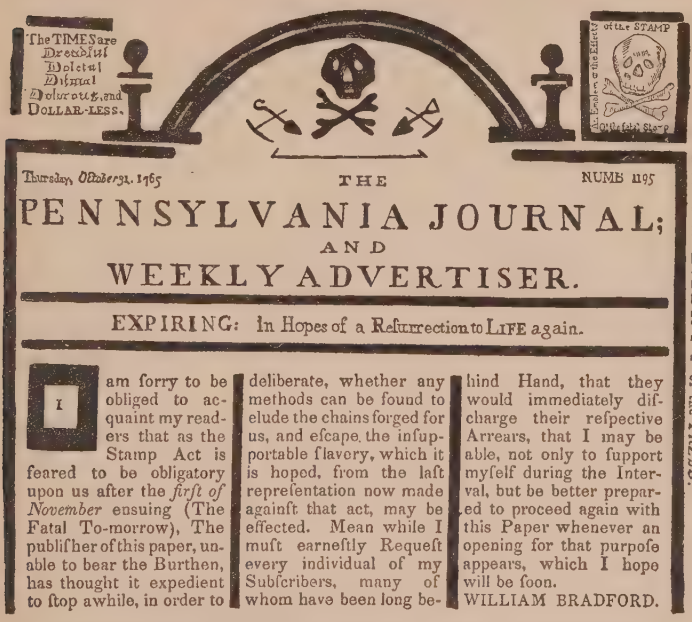
Gloom and despondency settled over Massachusetts. Business was at a stand still. But still the people would not yield. Newspapers bore a death's head in the place where a stamp was required by law.

At length, in England, early in January, 1766, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons for the repeal of the Act. William Pitt, Col. Barré and Edmund Burke supported the measure. The latter statesman made his first appearance as the champion of the right, and won, by his marvelous eloquence, an abiding place in the hearts of the American people.

On the eighteenth of March, 1766, the Stamp Act was repealed, and the warehouses of London were illuminated, and the shipping in the Thames made gay with flags.

The welcome news of the repeal of the Stamp Act reached Boston on the 16th of May, 1766. The rejoicing was most enthusiastic.

The ships in the harbor were gaily decorated with their colors. Guns were continuously fired. Blazing bonfires were kindled. The church bells poured out



The TIMES are Dreadful Doleful Dismal Doleroust and DOLLAR-LESS.

Thursday, October 31. 1765 THE NUMB 1195

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL; AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Reſurrection to LIFE again.

I am ſorry to be obliged to acquaint my readers that as the Stamp Act is feared to be obligatory upon us after the *firſt of November* ensuing (The Fatal To-morrow), The publiſher of this paper, unable to bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to ſtop awhile, in order to deliberate, whether any methods can be found to elude the chains forged for us, and eſcape the inſupportable ſlavery, which it is hoped, from the laſt repreſentation now made againſt that act, may be effected. Mean while I muſt earneſtly Requeſt every individual of my Subſcribers, many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately diſcharge their reſpective Arrears, that I may be able, not only to ſupport myſelf during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper whenever an opening for that purpoſe appears, which I hope will be ſoon.
WILLIAM BRADFORD.

Adieu Adieu to the LIBERTY of the PRESS.

Reduced Fac-Simile of the Pennsylvania Journal, with emblematic heading, published October 31, 1765, following the passage of the Stamp Act.

their joyous peals. Bands of music played in the street. Steeples and housetops were adorned with flags. Salvos of artillery boomed from Fort Williams. Fireworks surpassing anything before known in New England were set off on the common. Men, women and children were thrilled with the excitement of the occasion.

They were "mad with loyalty," said Samuel Adams,

speaking afterwards of the occasion. But this far seeing patriot did not share the exultation of the Boston people. There was a sting in the repeal.

In the Declaratory Act was contained the statement that Parliament had the authority "to bind the Colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever." Pitt himself, in order to carry the bill, inserted this condition. Adams knew that serious trouble was sure to arise in the days to come, when the king should assert in other ways the principle thus laid down. It did come.

Pitt and Camden had gained the admiration of the colonists for their brave and powerful denunciation of the Stamp Act. But these men had made a distinction between taxation and legislation.

They held that while Parliament could not tax, it could legislate. But Samuel Adams stood firm on the principle that the Parliament had no power whatever to interfere in the affairs of the Provinces. They owed allegiance to the king, but not to the Parliament. They were thus prepared to meet with continued opposition the measures already being devised by the Parliamentary leaders to oppress the colonists.

When the election for representatives was held in Boston, in May, 1766, Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, James Otis, and a new member destined to play an important part in the coming days, were chosen.

This member was John Hancock. Just preceding the election a Mr. John Rowe, an influential merchant, who had been active on the side of liberty, was talked of for the fourth member.

Samuel Adams very skilfully nominated another person, by asking, with his eyes looking in the direction of Mr. Hancock's house,

"Is there not another John that may do better?"

The hint took.

Mr. Hancock had been left with a vast fortune for those days, amounting to more than $350,000. Adams knew that such a man, backed by such an inheritance, would be of great benefit to the struggling cause.

He knew, also, of the commanding influence that a person of Mr. Hancock's dignified bearing and engaging manners would exert upon the people. Mr. Adams never lost an opportunity of bringing forward Mr. Hancock to popular notice, and of helping him to win official position.

Another important accession was made this year to the Assembly in the person of Joseph Hawley, from Northampton, Connecticut.

He was a man of great purity of character and of keen intellect. He also possessed a profound knowledge of legal affairs which was of marked benefit to the patriotic movement.

Samuel Adams and Hawley were fast friends, thoroughly appreciating one another, and mutually helpful in the arduous work they had in hand.

While Thomas Cushing was annually chosen speaker, Samuel Adams was made clerk. This position gave him about a hundred pounds a year, which meager stipend was often his only means of support.

And while James Otis was still the idol of the people,

Samuel Adams was the patient, persevering, ever watchful leader. His conspicuous ability in drafting documents became more and more apparent, and not a paper of any note was put forth which was not written by his pen.

During the debates in the Assembly, Hawley took the position of a bold and far-seeing statesman.

He said, "The Parliament of Great Britain has no right to legislate for us."

James Otis at once rose in his seat, and bowing towards Hawley, exclaimed, "He has gone farther than I have yet done in this house." But Hawley was only affirming, as we have seen, the sentiments which Samuel Adams for some time had held.

Out of the egg of tyranny, which Mr. Adams had known to be concealed in the "declaratory act," was to come forth a brood of obnoxious measures which were to rouse the colonies to open revolt.

Townshend, a brilliant, but an unscrupulous and unwise statesman, brought forth a bill in Parliament, as before noticed, for levying duties upon tea, glass, paper, painter's colors etc., which should be imported by the colonies.

The indignation which had flamed out against the Stamp Act again broke forth.

Josiah Quincy, twenty-three years of age, said with the impetuosity of youth,

"Let us make an armed resistance against the ministry."

"No," said Samuel Adams, "we are not prepared for

that. We will do something better. We will neither import nor consume any British product."

Adams prepared a remarkable series of papers during the winter of 1767-8, maintaining his position.

Faneuil Hall, Boston.

A Circular Letter, of which he was the real author, although it has been claimed James Otis wrote it, was sent to "Each House of Representatives or Burgesses on the Continent."

Lord Hillsborough, the English Secretary of State for the American Department, wrote to have the measure rescinded. He declared it to be "a flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace."

General Gage, commander of the Royal troops in America, was significantly directed "to maintain the public tranquility."

But the Assembly did not rescind their action. The people would not buy and use English goods. They would not pay the duties that were imposed.

A sloop, owned by Mr. Hancock, was seized for not complying with the revenue laws. The collector, comptroller and inspector were roughly handled by an infuriated concourse of people, and a serious riot was barely avoided.

A great crowd gathered in Faneuil Hall, and overflowed to the Old South. James Otis was received with a storm of applause, and made moderator by acclamation. He electrified the surging thousands with his magnificent eloquence, declaiming against the wrongs inflicted upon them, and against the appearance of the English man of war, "*Romney*," which was then in the harbor.

One man, Governor Bernard, was very largely responsible for the evil consequences of the untimely and unjust actions of the English Parliament. While he undoubtedly had many good qualities, and while allowance must be made for his early training and surroundings, he was clearly guilty of falsification and of stirring up needless strife.

He was a graduate of Oxford, a warm friend of Harvard College, an elegant scholar, and a charming conversationalist. He could compose elegies in Latin and Greek, and repeat from memory, on his own statement, the whole of Shakespeare. He was as fond of science

as of literature. But he was as much out of place as Governor of Massachusetts as "a Cardinal's hat in a Quaker meeting house."

There was no harmony whatever between him and the common people. He hated thoroughly republican institutions. He contemptuously termed the local self-government "a trained mob."

He saw in every movement of the people an effort to shake off allegiance to the English crown, when all that was meant was a due assertion of their inherent rights as English subjects.

The most persistent and unscrupulous misrepresentations were made by him and his political friends for years to the king and Parliament, regarding the alleged traitorous designs of "the pestilent Bostonians," whom they continually called "anarchists and rebels."

Bernard referred to Samuel Adams, John Hancock and others, as "the faction which harasses this town; and through it the whole continent is directed by three or four persons, bankrupts in reputation as well as property."

While he was writing to England that these malcontents were stirring up the populace to riots and treasonable acts, Adams and his compatriots, with the new grievances and fresh aggressions in the passage of the Revenue Acts of 1767 to contend with, were doing all in their power to restrain their followers from lawless deeds.

They sent the word through the ranks, regarding the obnoxious revenue officials, "Let there be no mobs, no

riots. Let not the hair of their scalps be touched."

No Englishman loved the old flag more than they. The history of the mother country was their history. Its glory was their glory. The English constitution was the aegis of their rights and liberties, both civil and religious.

They had no desire for separation, least of all any expectation of it.

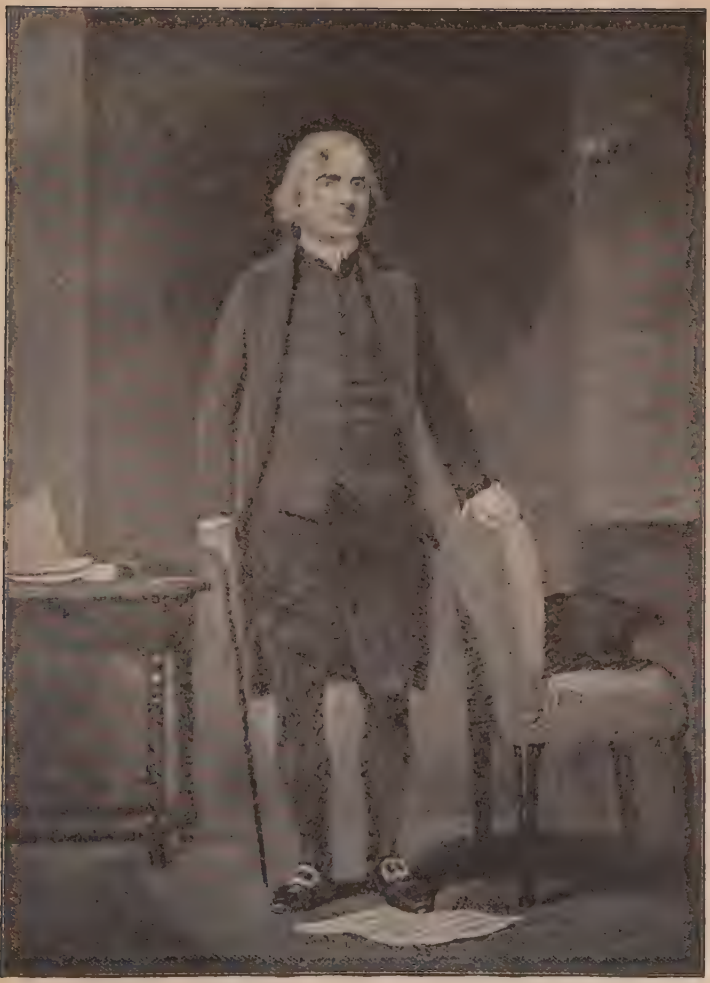
No man had a profounder respect for the Constitution, and a more ardent attachment to the land of his ancestors, than Samuel Adams. Early in 1768 he uttered these strong words which, we must believe, came from the depths of a sincere soul:

"I pray God that harmony may be cultivated between Great Britain and the Colonies, and that they may long flourish in one undivided empire."

It was liberty within the sacred law of England for which he strove.

But very soon after this he completely changed his views. Samuel Adams has been charged by the Tories with duplicity. Professor Hosmer thinks he must have had some twinges of conscience, "when at the very time in which he had devoted himself body and soul, to breaking the link that bound America to England, he was coining for this or that body phrases full of reverence for the king, and rejecting the thought of independence."

But it was the logic of events that hurried him on, and made him appear to think one way and act another. If the king had yielded there would have been no inde-



Samuel Adams in Middle Life.

pendence. Samuel Adams was but an illustration of Emerson's saying, "No man has a right to be consistent with himself." A consistent man may be most inconsistent. To be consistent with his better self and with the laws of the universe, he must change his views with advancing knowledge and increasing experience.

Adams himself vigorously stated his position, when the town meeting of Boston had called a convention on September 22, 1768, because Governor Bernard had refused to convene the legislature.

Otis was absent during the first three days. Some of the members began to hold back from the course the "Bostoneers" had marked out for them.

Then said the sturdy pioneer of freedom, "I am *in* fashion and *out* of fashion as the whim goes. I will stand alone. I will oppose this tyranny at the threshold, though the fabric of liberty fall, and I perish in its ruins."

Governor Bernard brought not only the armed vessel "*Romney*," to the harbor, but also the 14th and 29th regiments, which have come down in history as "the Sam Adams Regiments," for so they were designated by Lord North.

Their appearance led up to tragic events, and rapidly hastened the crisis which Adams clearly foresaw was coming. These regiments, seven hundred strong, landed on a quiet Sabbath morning, and marched to the Boston Common with drums beating and colors flying, as though entering an enemy's country.

The people viewed them with indignation and execration, as they virtually turned Boston into a camp. Fan-

euil Hall and the State House afforded them quarters, with the tents on the common, as the inhabitants refused to give them shelter or food.

Cannon were planted at different points, and sentinels challenged the citizens as they passed.

Samuel Adams wrote the following week to Deberdt, in England:

"The inhabitants preserve their peace and quietness. However, they are resolved not to pay their money without their own consent, and are more than ever determined to relinquish every article, however dear, that comes from Britain. May God preserve the nation from being greatly injured, if not ruined, by the vile ministrations of wicked men in America."

An effort was now made by Parliament to revive a long obsolete statute of Henry the Eighth, by which the ringleaders might be sent to England on the charge of treason.

"The talk is strong of bringing them over and trying them by impeachment," wrote Mauduit, from London, to Hutchinson. "Do you write me word of their being seized, and I will send you an account of their being hanged."

In the House of Commons Barré stood up, as usual, as the defender of American rights. Lord North replied that he would never acquiesce in the absurd opinion "that all men are equal."

Burke pronounced the idea of reviving that old statute as "horrible." He indignantly asked, "Can you not trust the juries of that country? If you have not a

party among two millions of people, you must either change your plans of government, or renounce the colonies forever."

A majority voted in favor of the resolution on the 26th of January, 1769. The resolution, however, was never carried into effect.

Parliament at length took off the tax upon all the articles except tea. This, as we shall see, did not pacify Samuel Adams and his friends.

Meanwhile, a great controversy was taking place on the whole question at issue. On the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act, Samuel Adams made an appeal to the Sons of Liberty, as they had been called since Colonel Barré's address in Parliament, in which the name had been given them.

This appeal was found posted on the Liberty Tree in Providence, Rhode Island, on the eighteenth of March, 1769. It was afterwards printed in the papers.

It was the first public announcement by Mr. Adams of a hint at independence. In the closing paragraph he says: "I cannot but think that the Conduct of Old England towards us may be permitted by Divine Wisdom and ordained by the unsearchable providence of the Almighty, for hastening a period dreadful to Great Britain."

Governor Bernard departed from Boston for England amid the rejoicings of the populace, and Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson became the Acting Governor.

Samuel Adams was a perpetual thorn in his side. "Use no tea," said Mr. Adams. "To retain the duty on tea means the right to tax the colonies."

A great meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, where it was unanimously resolved to abstain totally from its use. Four hundred and ten women, mistresses of households, pledged themselves to drink no more tea until the revenue act was repealed. A few days later one hundred and twenty young ladies formed a similar league.

The first bloodshed took place in Boston on the twenty-second of February, 1770. A crowd of boys gathered round an importer and jeered and taunted him. Some one friendly to him fired among them. One boy, Christopher Gore, who afterwards became Governor of Massachusetts, was wounded, and another, Christopher Snyder, the son of a poor German, was killed.

The presence of the troops in Boston was a constant source of irritation to the people. The Massachusetts Assembly refused to appropriate a single dollar for their maintenance, and demanded their removal from the city. On the second of March, 1770, a rope maker had come into collision with a soldier, and struck him. Out of this grew a bitter feud between the soldiers and the rope makers, in which they came to blows.

On the evening of the fifth of March, a sentinel near the custom-house struck, with his musket, a boy who had spoken insolently to a captain of the 14th regiment, as he was walking in the street.

To a crowd which had collected, the boy pointed out his assailant. Immediately a mob made for him, and he retreated up the custom-house steps.

Captain Preston, the officer of the guard, went to the rescue of the sentinel with eight armed men. The mob,

although they knew the guns were loaded and ready for firing, pressed up to their very muzzles, striking them with sticks, and at the same time hurling balls of ice and imprecations at the soldiers.

One of the soldiers who was struck fired, and six of his companions also discharged their guns.

The leader of the crowd, a tall and powerful mulatto, named Crispus Attucks, and two others were killed, and eight wounded.

The bells of the city rang out an alarm. Thousands of infuriated people were gathered in the streets. Shouts and cries rent the air.

Revenge! revenge! was on every lip.

It seemed as though a terrible scene of blood would be enacted, which was barely averted by the appearance of Governor Hutchinson, who promised the multitude that justice should be done.

When morning came, Hutchinson was asked by the selectmen of Boston to remove the troops. He replied, as he had before, that he had no power to command their removal.

To Faneuil Hall the people flocked. They filled the building, and surged around it in the street After solemn and earnest prayer by Dr. Cooper, Samuel Adams addressed the meeting. A committee of fifteen was appointed to demand from Hutchinson their instant removal. Samuel Adams, though not at the head of the committee, was their spokesman.

Hutchinson yielded enough to say that, though he could receive an order from no one but General Gage,

The Boston Massacre.

he would respect the *desire* of the magistrates, and, if possible, would send one regiment from the city, the 29th. Back to the meeting, which had assembled in the renowned Old South Church, went the committee to make their report. The multitudes in the street opened for them to pass through, as the cry was uttered, "Make way for the Committee."

Samuel Adams, with bared head and with gray locks, although he was but forty-eight, bowed on one side and then on the other, and repeated the words:

"Both regiments or none! both regiments or none!"

When the answer of the Lieutenant Governor had been given to the meeting in the church, there went up from a thousand tongues in the excited assembly, "Both regiments or none!" "Both regiments or none!"

Another committee was then chosen, composed of John Hancock, Samuel Adams, William Molineaux, William Philips, Joseph Warren, Joshua Henshaw and Samuel Pemberton.

This was a band of men worthy of the great occasion, in patriotism, ability, wealth and influence. The message they were commissioned to bear to Hutchinson was, "Both regiments or none!"

Although Samuel Adams was second on the committee, he was again to be the spokesman. He had won the title now of "The Father of America," and it was felt that none was better qualified than he to enforce their unyielding demands.

Into the Council Chamber these determined patriots went. Upon its walls hung the full length portraits of

Charles the Second, and James the Second, robed in the royal ermine, the representatives of the absolutism that was soon to pass away. Confronting them were the smaller portraits of Belcher and Bradstreet, and Endicott and Winthrop, the representatives of the reign of the common people, soon to begin.

Before the Lieutenant Governor and the members of his Council, all resplendent with gold and silver lace, scarlet cloaks and imposing wigs, surrounded by the officers of the British Army and Navy in their brilliant uniforms, stood these plainly attired men.

Plainly attired, with the exception, perhaps, of John Hancock, for it is probable "the rich, luxurious chairman did not forget, even on an occasion like this, to set off his fine figure with gay velvet and lace, and a gold-headed cane."

Samuel Adams, clearly and calmly, stated the demands of the people. "It is the unanimous opinion of the meeting that the reply to the vote of the inhabitants in the morning is by no means satisfactory; nothing less will satisfy them than a total and immediate removal of the troops."

Hutchinson had previously intimated, as stated, that one regiment—the Twenty-ninth—should be removed. This he repeated, adding, "The troops are not subject to my authority; I have no power to remove them."

Drawing himself to his full height, his clear blue eyes flashing, with outstretched arm, "which shook slightly with the energy of his soul," and gazing steadfastly at Hutchinson, Adams replied:

"If you have the power to remove *one* regiment, you have power to remove *both*. It is at your peril if you refuse. The meeting is composed of three thousand people. They are becoming impatient. A thousand men are already arrived from the neighborhood, and the whole country is in motion. Night is approaching. An immediate answer is expected. *Both regiments or none!*"

The irresolute chief magistrate, surrounded as he was by the insignia of power, was no match for the iron man of the people. "He quailed before the majesty, the greatness of patriotism." The troops were withdrawn.

Adams said afterwards to James Warren, of Hutchinson: "I observed his knees to tremble. I thought I saw his face grow pale, and I enjoyed the sight."

Hutchinson soon after this became Governor. In some of his measures he had secured the sanction of Hancock and Otis. But Samuel Adams sturdily refused to yield one iota to his views.

When the patriot cause seemed all imperiled, Adams stood like a granite rock for its principles, and used all his powers in its defense. He was now writing for the newspapers, now earnestly declaiming in the Boston Town Meeting, now among the people, talking with them face to face, now at the head of his party in the House.

He seemed to be almost omniscient and omnipresent, rallying the disheartened, encouraging the timid, and strengthening the fearful ones, in the American ranks.

He answered the arguments of Governor Hutchinson

for the supremacy of the Parliament, in a document which has become forever memorable. He fought the Governor successfully as to the payment of his own salary, and the salaries of the Judges of the Superior Court by the Crown, independent of the Provinces.

He, without doubt, brought to a practical result the idea of the intercolonial Committees of Correspondence, if he did not wholly originate it.

As early as 1766, he suggested such a plan to a friend in South Carolina, but it was not then feasible. He returned to it again in 1771, but although a necessity, the time was not yet ripe for it.

When he urged the measure upon his associates in October, 1772, they were not prepared for such an advance movement, and tried to dissuade him from it. Hancock said it was premature, rash and insufficient.

Still the patriotic Puritan persevered, and on the second of November, 1772, moved at a town meeting in Boston that a Committee of Correspondence be appointed to consist of twenty-one persons, to correspond with the other towns of the Province.

His plan was to have all the towns in Massachusetts engaged in this correspondence, then to have the Assembly adopt the scheme, and invite the other colonies to unite in it.

The resolution was carried, and the Committee appointed. On the next day it began its labors under the leadership of its moving spirit.

Before the plan could be submitted to the Provincial Assembly, a resolution proposing a general correspond-

ence between the colonies was adopted by the General Assembly of Virginia.

Thus Massachusetts and Virginia had the equal honor of leading off in this most important action.

The controversy on the question of the tax on tea still continued. The people resolved that the ships which brought over the tea should not land.

The vessels with tea which arrived at New York and Philadelphia, went back to England with their cargoes. Tea was stored at Charleston, but not a pound was permitted to be sold.

In Boston, Governor Hutchinson and his friends determined to land the tea in defiance of public feeling. This resulted in the famous "Boston Tea Party."

At great mass meetings in Faneuil Hall it was resolved, on motion of Samuel Adams—"The Man of the Town Meeting"—that the tea brought to port in the several ships should neither be landed nor sold.

On a cold, moonlight night, on the sixteenth of December, a crowd of seven thousand persons filled the Old South and the streets adjoining. The Church was dimly lighted by candles. The audience packed within, were waiting for the report from the Governor on the pending questions. It was unfavorable. Then Samuel Adams, the moderator, rose, and in a firm voice said:

"This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." They were the preconcerted signal words for what was to follow.

Sixty persons, disguised as Indians, rushed on board two vessels in the harbor, laden with tea. These "Mo-

hawks" tore open the hatches, and, in the course of two hours, broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and threw their contents into the water.

Long Wharf. Scene of the Destruction of Tea, Boston Harbor.

A recent historian has said, there is nothing in our annals "of which an educated American should feel more proud," than the event of which the words of Samuel Adams were the signal, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country."

There is a story told, that when the "Mohawks" marched back through the town to the stirring music of the fife and drum, they jocosely accosted Admiral Montague, who was lodging in town.

He answered them gruffly in return, and said:

"Well, boys, you've had a fine, pleasant evening for

your Indian caper, haven't you? But mind, you've got to pay the fiddler yet."

"Oh, never mind! old Admiral!" shouted Pitt, the leader, "never mind, squire; just come out here, if you please, and we'll settle the bill in two minutes."

The admiral did not go out.

The ministry resolved to punish Boston severely for the destruction of the tea. The act affected unfavorably even the faithful Colonel Barré. It may have been that something a little stronger than tea had been imbibed by him, when he rose in Parliament to make an address, in which he said:

"I think Boston ought to be punished. *She* is your oldest *Son*." The report said, "Here the House laughed," and we now laugh with it. But the good Colonel was very soon, and ever afterwards, on the right side.

The Parliament now passed the Boston Port Bill, by which that harbor was closed to commerce of all kinds. Governor Hutchinson having resigned, went to England where he was well received. Along with some unenviable traits in his character, he evinced many that were most admirable. He tried to serve two masters—the King and the American people—to the best of his ability. Hence, he tried the impossible, and in consequence failed. General Gage succeeded him, and presented in his mild temper and mediocre ability, a marked contrast to his predecessor.

The Governor received word from the ministry to bring to punishment the leaders in the tea movement for High Treason. Samuel Adams was specially desig-

nated as one who should be immediately apprehended. But the Governor did not deem it prudent, for the time being, to resort to such an extreme measure.

Meanwhile Mr. Adams was working heart and soul with the Committee of Correspondence, to prepare for the Congress, which had been proposed by Virginia, and which was also his own cherished and daring purpose. Governor Gage had prorogued the General Court from Boston to Salem, where it met early in June.

The Tories who were present at this Assembly conducted themselves in a most offensive manner towards the patriots, being emboldened by the presence in the town of General Gage and his attendant soldiers.

One of their number, richly dressed in a gold-laced coat, with frills and other adornments, was sitting in the chair which Samuel Adams was to occupy as clerk.

When Mr. Adams entered he showed no disposition to vacate it.

"Mr. Speaker, where is the place for your clerk?" said Mr. Adams, looking hard at the interloper and his friends about him.

The Speaker pointed to the desk and chair.

"Sir," said Mr. Adams, "my company will not be pleasant to the gentlemen who occupy it. I trust they will remove to another part of the house."

They removed.

Mr. Adams had carefully prepared the way for the election of delegates to meet the delegates of other Colonial Assemblies on the first of September, at Philadelphia, or some other place to be agreed upon.

With consummate skill he had lulled the Tory opposition to sleep.

On the seventeenth of June, one hundred and twenty-nine members were present. A resolution was presented to appoint James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams and Robert Treat Paine as such delegates.

Instantly the House was in a great uproar. Strenuous efforts were made by opponents to stave off the proceedings. Some of the Tory members attempted to leave the Hall. Samuel Adams went to the door, locked it, and put the key in his pocket.

One of these Tory members, however, on the plea of sickness, managed to get out, and at once informed General Gage of what was going on. The Governor hurriedly prepared a message of prorogation and sent it by his Secretary. Thundering at the door the Secretary, Thomas Flucker, Esq., demanded admission in vain. After the election had taken place, he was permitted to enter and read the message.

But "the horse was stolen, and General Gage locked the barn door with great vigor."

A critical moment in affairs soon after came, when a great town meeting was held in Boston, to consider whether it would not be best to make a small concession to the Crown, "like payment for the tea, with an admission that its destruction had been a mistake." Even Josiah Quincy and Benjamin Franklin thought such a step would be proper and desirable.

But Samuel Adams, with an unyielding will carried

the day, and, by a large majority, the meeting determined that they would continue "steadfast in the way of well-doing."

Samuel Adams now went about as a proscribed man. His friends were in constant fear of his arrest, and of his prominent supporters. He was urged on every hand to be on his guard. But Gage took no action, feeling that any attempt at seizure now would be very imprudent.

The efforts made to bribe Mr. Adams by great gifts and advancements which were freely offered were rejected by him with indignation and scorn.

Neither threats nor coaxings could make him swerve in the least. It were easier to turn the sun from his course than this Fabrician hero from the path of honor.

The State House, Philadelphia, in 1776.
From an Old Print of the Period.

Samuel Adams, accompanied by the three delegates, who were to represent Massachusetts, met in the historic Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, on the fifth of September, 1774. Fifty-three delegates were in attendance. From among their number Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was chosen as chairman, and Charles Thomson, Secretary. "Samuel Adams was, without doubt, the most conspicuous, and also the most dreaded, member

of that body." He was known to be a marked object for the vengeance of the king, and to be radical in his political views.

At the beginning of the session, however, he made a masterly stroke of policy, by moving that the Rev. Mr. Duché, an Episcopal clergyman of Philadelphia, should offer prayer. When it is remembered that Samuel Adams was the sternest of Puritans, and hated prelacy with a perfect hatred, we can realize the depth of his devotion to the public good. Professor Hosmer says: "Few acts in his career, probably, cost him a greater sacrifice, and few acts were really more effective. If Prynne, in the Long Parliament, had asked for the prayers of Laud, the sensation could not have been greater. It electrified friends and foes. Before such a stretch of catholicity, the members became ashamed of their divisions, and a spirit of harmony, quite new and beyond measure, salutary, came to prevail."

Mr. Adams' influence was great in this Congress. Galloway, an able lawyer, who had just before been Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, says:

"Samuel Adams eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, and thinks much, and is most indefatigable in the pursuit of his object. It was this man who, by his superior application, managed at once the faction in the Congress at Philadelphia, and the faction in New England."

His great wisdom was conspicuous in appearing to surrender the leadership to others, in order to win them over to the views for which he and New England stood. In Patrick Henry and the Lees of Virginia, he found

congenial spirits, who heartily seconded him in his comprehensive plans.

The several State papers, embracing the Declaration of Rights which this Congress put forth, were marked by such profound wisdom and signal ability, that they elicited the enthusiastic approbation of the Earl of Chatham. He said in the House of Lords:

"I must declare and avow that in all my reading and study of history—(and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world)—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia."

This Congress manifested conservatism, decorum, firmness and loyalty. It was not prepared to take the advanced steps Samuel Adams was prepared to take, but it gave general satisfaction to the American people. When Congress adjourned it was to meet on the twentieth of May following, 1775.

Before the next meeting some most important events were to occur.

On the sixth of March, 1775, Warren delivered his great oration on the fifth celebration of the Boston massacre in the Old South.

Three hundred soldiers from the eleven regiments which Gage now had in Boston, were there. Samuel Adams, who was the moderator of the meeting, invited them all to take front seats.

During the delivery of the address Warren noticed that a British officer seated on the pulpit stairs held up in his open palm a number of pistol balls. Without breaking in the least his flow of language, Warren quietly dropped his handkerchief upon them.

It is almost marvelous that an outbreak did not result. But if the troops were not prepared to charge, neither was the wise and prudent Adams ready for any premature movement.

But he had, in every manner possible, been getting ready for the inevitable struggle. With his patriotic friends he had been urging the colonists to practice daily in military exercises, to manufacture arms and gunpowder, and to enroll companies of militia, which were to be ready at a moment's notice to respond on the call of danger.

These were the *minute men*, who very soon were to march so triumphantly into history.

General Gage, after the meeting of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts (the first in America), which made elaborate preparations to raise an army to meet with armed resistance the aggression of the king, determined to arrest Hancock and Adams. He had been urged by letters from England to do this at once, and as reinforcements of soldiers were now on the way, he deemed the fit time had come to seize these arch-enemies of the crown.

Adams and Hancock, for greater safety, had gone to Lexington, and were stopping at the house of the Rev. Jonas Clark, in that village.

Late in the evening of the eighteenth of April, 1775, Gage secretly despatched eight hundred men, under the command of Lieutenant Col. Smith and Major Pitcairn, to Lexington, to lay hold upon the patriots, and also to

Buckman Tavern, Lexington, Mass. Headquarters of the Minute Men.

destroy the ammunition which the colonists had collected together at Concord, a few miles from Lexington.

Around the house of Mr. Clark were a sergeant and eight men, belonging to Jonas Parker's company of militia, which had marched to Lexington Green.

But General Gage had been again outwitted. He thought the going of the regulars would be a complete surprise to Adams, Hancock and all the rest. But William Dawes and Paul Revere rode with all speed to Lex-

ington, and spread the alarm through all the country. From the signal lanterns in the belfry of the old North Church the lights flashed out, to warn the country around.

Paul Revere galloped up to Clark's house about one

Clark House, Lexington, where Adams and Hancock were when notified by Paul Revere of the coming of the British.

o'clock in the morning of the 19th, and found the guards without and the people within fast asleep.

"Wake up! wake up!" he shouted. "Wake up!"

"Don't make so much noise," said the Sergeant, "you'll disturb the family."

"Noise!" cried Paul Revere, "you'll have noise enough before long. The regulars are coming out."

Adams and Hancock hastily rose, ran out, and made their way across the fields to Woburn.

Immediately afterwards, Pitcairn with the advance guard reached Lexington.

Seventy men were drawn up to oppose him.

Pitcairn rode forward, and shouted with a strong expletive,

"Disperse! disperse! disperse, you rebels! Down with your arms and disperse."

They refused to obey. The order to fire was given. Eight citizens were killed and many wounded.

The war for liberty was begun.

The Americans had "put the enemy in the wrong." The regulars had fired first. Lexington's sad green was stained with the first blood of the Revolution. But as the firing was heard by the two escaping men, Adams stopped, threw up his arms, and exclaimed in a voice of patriotic rapture, "Oh, what a glorious morning for America is this!"

It was a glorious morning, for it witnessed the display of great moral sublimity in the stand these few noble men took, believing themselves to be in the right, against the greatest power on the globe.

Well does George William Curtis say:

"American valor a hundred years ago is as consecrating as Greek valor twenty centuries ago.

"What was there in the cause or character of the heroes which should make Marathon or Plateo more romantic than Lexington or Concord?

"Leonidas and the Greeks stood in the pass at Ther-

mopylae: John Parker and his townsmen on Lexington Green.

"They both stood for liberty and for us.

"Yet how many a youth who dreams of old renown, and burns to see the fields that brave men have immortalized, remembers that here at hand in his own country, he has the scene of all that kindles his imagination.

"How is Leonidas nobler, or more poetic, than the minute man who lives forever in the noble statue of French fronting the old bridge?

"In the final, consecrating grace of any scene upon the globe, namely, the display of the highest human heroism, our own soil is as rich as any upon which the sun shines."

While Samuel Adams believed that with the battles of Lexington and Concord the Revolution had really begun, others did not: He knew the struggle would not be an easy one. Suffering and hardship must inevitably come. But he was prepared for any sacrifices, for he felt convinced that the Americans would succeed if they remained true to their cause.

"For my own part," he had written long before this, "I have been wont to converse with poverty; and, however disagreeable a companion she may be thought to be by the affluent and luxurious, who were never acquainted with her, I can live happily with her the remainder of my life, if I can thereby contribute to the redemption of my country."

Samuel Adams found himself still alone among the leading statesmen of America, when he again took his

Battle Ground and Bridge at Concord. Statue of Minute Man in Background.

seat in the Continental Congress on the nineteenth of May, 1775, and advocated the entire independence of the Colonies. Even John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were not ready for such a step.

These, with the rest of the delegates, were looking for conciliation, compromise, and a restoration of the state of things existing before the disputes began.

By many, Samuel Adams was looked upon "as a desperate and fanatical adventurer with nothing to lose, and his advocacy of a scheme was often an injury to it." It took time before justice could be done both to his character and reputation.

John Adams also suffered a good deal of odium, and was very sensitive in consequence; but his kinsman paid but little attention to what he knew were unjust imputations, and went on his way unmoved.

The Presidency of the Continental Congress was given to John Hancock, upon the retirement of Peyton Randolph from the chair, to attend the session of the Virginia Legislature.

This great honor, conferred both upon Massachusetts and Hancock, was secured by the untiring labor of both the Adamses. These two men also brought about the the most important action of the Continental Congress in the appointment of Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the army.

John Adams made the nomination and Samuel Adams seconded it. John Hancock was greatly disappointed, for, it would seem, he had expected the position for himself. John Adams thus describes what took place:

"When Congress had assembled I rose in my place. . . . . Mr. Washington, who happened to sit near the door, as soon as he heard me allude to him, from his usual modesty, darted into the library-room.

"Mr. Hancock heard me with visible pleasure, but when I came to describe Washington for the commander, I never remarked a more sudden and striking change of countenance. Mortification and resentment were expressed as forcibly as his face could exhibit them. Mr. Samuel Adams seconded the motion, and that did not soften the president's physiognomy at all."

On the fifteenth of June, 1775, George Washington was duly elected by a unanimous vote on the formal motion of Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, Commander-in-Chief.

General Gage, on the twelfth of June, 1775, issued a proclamation, declaring all Americans in arms to be rebels and traitors, and offering a free pardon to all, excepting "Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose Offences are of too flagitious a Nature to admit of any other Consideration than that of condign Punishment."

On the seventeenth of June, 1775, occurred the famous battle of Bunker Hill, in which there was absolutely no victory for either side.

In this engagement Dr. Warren fell. He had just been appointed Major General, and was killed by a musket ball soon after the enemy had scaled the redoubt on Breed's Hill, as it was termed. He was the man whom Samuel Adams is believed to have loved above all others.

He wrote as follows to his wife from Philadelphia,

when the news reached him: "The Death of our truly amiable and worthy Friend, Dr. Warren, is great afflicting; the Language of Friendship is, how shall we resign him; but it is our Duty to submit to the Dispensations of Heaven, 'whose ways are ever gracious, ever just.' He fell in the glorious Struggle for public Liberty."

On the re-interment of Warren, after the British evacuation, the orator said: "Their kindred souls were so intertwined, that both felt one joy, both one affliction."

The sorrow Adams felt at the loss of his beloved friend, was buried deep in his heart, though his usual reticence did not permit him to pour forth in impassioned words his grief to his fellow men.

Through the influence of Samuel and John Adams, Charles Lee was appointed second in command to Washington, which action afterwards proved to be a very great mistake. Lee, to say the least of him, was "an eccentric, selfish marlplot, who so nearly wrecked the cause he assumed to uphold."

After the Battle of Bunker Hill, in July, 1775, Congress sent a most loyal petition to the king, along with a conciliatory address to the people of Great Britain.

But they firmly announced, "We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery." The ring of Samuel Adams' determination was heard in these stirring words.

On the first of August, 1775, the Continental Congress adjourned to meet again on the fifth of September following. Samuel Adams, the proscribed patriot, set out with his fellow delegates for Boston.

Death of Dr. Warren, Battle of Bunker Hill, near Boston, June 17, 1775.

He was at once made Secretary of State, but leaving his public functions in the hands of a deputy, he set out on the twelfth of September for Philadelphia, riding three hundred miles on horseback.

Adams found the jealousy towards New England, greater than ever on the part of the Proprietary and some of the Southern Colonies. As there seemed but little prospect of a declaration of independence on their part, he began to conceive the idea of separate independence for New England, believing if this were accomplished, complete independence of all the rest might afterwards follow.

Then came days of weary waiting and severe trial. Hancock turned his back upon the two Adamses, and affiliated with the aristocratic members from the middle and southern colonies. The battle became a fierce one on the subject so dear to the heart of Samuel Adams – the independence of the colonies.

John Adams, who had come round to Samuel's way of thinking, was absent. Hancock, Cushing and Paine would render no help, and so almost alone the heroic New Englander had to carry on the struggle. But he gained, as adherents, a few advanced men like Wythe, of Virginia, Roger Sherman and Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut, Ward of Rhode Island, and Chase of Maryland. These men stood by him nobly.

The Quakers of Philadelphia had issued an address in which unqualified submission was strongly urged. Samuel Adams was never more energetic in his language than in the reply which he made. It was no

time now, he believed, to mince matters, as the following extract will show:

"'But,' say the puling, pusillanimous cowards, 'we shall be subject to a long and bloody war if we declare independence.' On the contrary, I affirm it the only step that can bring the contest to a speedy and happy issue. By declaring independence we put ourselves on a footing for an equal negotiation. Now we are called a pack of villainous rebels, who, like the St. Vincent's Indians, can expect nothing more than a pardon for our lives, and the sovereign favor, respecting freedom and property, to be at the king's will. Grant, Almighty God, that I may be numbered with the dead before that sable day dawns on North America."

But the most triumphant moment of his life was about to come. One by one the men whose names are written high up on America's roll of honor were won to his views. The logic of events was on his side.

After a long debate, the Declaration of Independence was signed on the fourth of July, 1776. The fierce struggle on the floor of Congress was ended.

John Hancock wrote down his name in a bold, dashing hand, saying:

"There, I have written it that George the Third might read it without his spectacles."

Somebody said, "Now we must all hang together."

"Yes," answered Dr. Franklin, with grim humor, "or we shall all hang separately."

Fat Mr. Harrison, of Virginia, said to lean little Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts:

"When it comes to hanging, I shall have the advantage of you."

"How do you make that out," said Mr. Gerry.

"Because my neck will probably be broken at the first drop, whereas you may have to dangle for half an hour."

Samuel Adams was not one of the Committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, because he was a member of another Committee, considered as important. This was the Committee, consisting of one from each colony, to prepare a plan of Confederation.

A characteristic anecdote is told of Mr. Adams, when, on the eighth of May, 1776, the sound of heavy artillery was heard down the Delaware. This booming of cannon was known to proceed from gunboats that had been sent to protect the river from British cruisers.

As the sound of the first gun burst upon the ear of Congress, Samuel Adams sprang upon his feet, and cried out with exultation, to the infinite astonishment of a few timid members:

"Thank God! the game's begun, none can stop it now!"

Throughout the Revolutionary war Samuel Adams remained in Congress, except one year, and rendered signal service during its continuance. He never lost heart, even amid the gloom at the close of the year 1776. He was not in favor of the resolution of Congress on the twelfth of December of that year to adjourn from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

He wrote in one of his letters at this time: "I do not regret the part I have taken in a cause so just and inter-

Signing of the Declaration of Independence.

esting to mankind. The people of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys seem determined to give it up, but I trust that my dear New England will maintain it at the expense of everything dear to them in this life."

He was accused of being an enemy of Washington, and Hancock, who had become deeply hostile to his former friend, circulated, if he did not originate the slander. Mr. Adams indignantly wrote:

"The Arts they make us of are contemptible. Last year, as you observe, I was an Enemy to George Washington. This was said to render me odious to the People. The Man who fabricated that charge did not believe it himself."

He was never concerned in the Conway cabal.

The cautious method of Washington was criticised by Samuel Adams and others. The great General who was to win the battles of the Revolution by "Fabian policy," had not become fully known to his contemporaries. Samuel Adams afterwards did him full justice.

In 1779, Mr. Adams was appointed one of the Committee to prepare a State Constitution for Massachusetts. Samuel Adams and John Adams were appointed a Sub-Committee to draft the Constitution, which, with some amendments, was adopted by the Constitutional Convention.

In 1787 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Convention for the ratification of the Federal Constitution. With this Constitution Samuel Adams was not altogether satisfied. He did not favor, about the period of 1780, the establishment of Departments of State,

the Navy, etc., presided over by Secretaries. He preferred the form of Committees as the executive machinery of Congress. This was a mistake.

He was slow to yield to the conferring of great powers on a body so far removed from the people as was contained in the Federal Constitution, without some important amendments. The ideas of the Town meeting still continued dominant with him.

He was a thorough believer in Mr. Jefferson's maxim, "Where annual election ends tyranny begins." Like Mr. Jefferson, he was also profoundly convinced of the importance of preserving the independence of the several States.

He loved to be in closest touch with the common people, and this confidence in their strong good sense, was adroitly used to hasten his vote on the ratification of the Constitution.

The leading mechanics of Boston held a meeting at "The Green Dragon Inn" to pass resolutions in favor of the Constitution. They deputed Paul Revere to take them to Mr. Adams.

"How many mechanics," said Samuel Adams, "were at the Green Dragon ?"

"More than it could hold," was the answer.

"And where were the rest, Mr. Revere ?"

"In the streets, sir."

"And how many were in the streets ?"

"More, sir, than there are stars in the sky."

Mr. Adams delayed no longer, but voted in the affirmative.

John Fiske says that had it not been for the delay of Samuel Adams in voting, he would have been chosen Vice President under Washington, instead of John Adams, and thus would have been the successor of Washington as second President of the United States.

Birthplace of Paul Revere, Boston.

The amendments, Mr. Adams proposed, were rejected by the Convention, though afterwards accepted by the Nation as a part of its fundamental law.

Mr. Bancroft dispels the misunderstanding regarding the relation of Samuel Adams to the adoption of the Constitution, in a private letter to Professor Hosmer. He says:

"He never was opposed to the Constitution; he only waited to make up his mind."

It now seems quite clear, from all we can learn, that his friends were right when they said:

"Samuel Adams *saved* the Constitution in Massachusetts," for when he voted 'aye," it was ratified, though by the barest majority.

Senator Hoar, "who, so well, represents a vigorous and victorious Nationalism," has not erred in his estimate of the character of Samuel Adams, when he calls him, "the greatest of our Statesmen, in the soundness and sureness of his opinions, and in the strength of original argument by which he persuaded the people to its good."

In 1788 he was defeated for Congress by Fisher Ames, although a strong plea had been made for him by his friends, who placed him justly side by side with Washington, and called him the "American Cato."

The bitterness of the Federal party now became very great, and continued to the day of his death. The Federalists could not forgive his alliance with Jefferson and his friendliness towards the French Revolution. A note is still preserved in which he is threatened with assassination.

In 1789 Mr. Adams was elected Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, with Hancock as Governor, and was regularly chosen to that office until 1794, when he was elected Governor of the State on the death of Hancock.

A full reconciliation had been effected between these two men, chiefly through the christian magnanimity of

Mr. Adams, and once more their hearts beat together in brotherly unison.

Samuel Adams, with the Puritan spirit in him, was opposed to the theatre, and tried to make of Boston "a Christian Sparta," while Governor of the State, by preventing theatrical exhibitions.

For four successive years he was elected Governor by large majorities. But in 1797, being seventy-five years of age, he declined a re-election, and retired to private life.

His last days were spent in obscurity, and in great pecuniary distress. But it was a touching scene, when

Signature of Samuel Adams, written in 1801.

in the year 1800, General Strong, riding at the head of a great military procession, passed through Winter Steeet, and stopping before the venerable patriot's house, saluted the aged hero, with bared head, and thus publicly expressed his reverence. The soldiers presented arms, and the people stood uncovered and silent.

To the last of his life he was interested in the common schools, the Palladium of American liberties. In the school room his form became familiar, and troops of children knew him as their friend.

Though stern in character, he was social, sympathetic and kind in disposition, blending in harmony, traits that were seemingly opposite in their nature.

His last letter was one of rebuke to Thomas Paine.

He said: "Do you think that your pen, or the pen of any other man, can unchristianize the mass of our citizens?"

But the Puritan who could request that an Episcopal clergyman should open the first Congress with prayer, and that ministers of various denominations should open each day the Massachusetts Legislature with devotional exercises, was no bigot.

On Sunday morning, the second of October, 1803, he passed away, at the age of eighty-two. Through political animosity there was great difficulty in securing a suitable escort for his funeral. This was at last overcome. The shops were closed; flags in the harbor were at half-mast; bells were tolled; minute guns were fired from Fort Independence, as with military parade and the reverberation of muffled drums, the funeral procession went slowly on.

In a plain coffin, the body of the great Puritan was carried past the Old South, where he had worshipped during the last ten years of his life, around the Old State House, up Court Street into Tremont Street, and thence to the Granary Burying Ground. There, in the Checkley tomb was deposited the mortal remains of "The Father of the American Revolution," of whom Clymer, of Pennsylvania, declared a century ago.

"All good Americans should erect a statue of him in their hearts."

SAMUEL ADAMS.

(1722-1803)

By G. Mercer Adam.*

OF the figures of interest in the historic group of Revolutionary patriots one of the chief is Samuel Adams, of Boston, Mass., cousin of President John Adams, and with the latter one of the active agents in bringing about American independence. His share in the movements of the time that led to the separation of the American Colonies from the Motherland was an early as well as an active one. Early in his career the rebel showed itself in his attitude towards the Crown, and as an agitator none of the men of his era was more disturbing or more persistently opposed the authorities in Boston who represented the king and did his behest and those of the English Parliament in the New World. In town-meeting he was constantly to be found, where he instilled in the people what in the royal mouth were pestilent, seditious principles, in his opposition to English legislation for the Colonies, such as Grenville's hated Stamp Act and the obnoxious "Writs of Assistance," empowering the officers of the law to enter and search houses suspected of concealing smuggled or contraband goods. Here Adams denounced "taxation without representation," and the imposts

*Historian, Biographer, and Essayist, Author of a "Précis of English History," a "Continuation of Grecian History," etc., and for many years Editor of *Self-Culture Magazine*.—The Publishers.

of the English government designed with the double motive of exacting tribute from the Colonies and tyrannously thwarting them in their efforts after independence, with continued liberty and freedom. Here, too, and in the Massachusetts Assembly, when he became a member of that body, did he fulminate against Tory men in the district, clamor for the removal of the English soldiery, and, when petitions to the Crown were unavailing, urged the coöperation of the other Colonies to withstand royal aggression and unite in the now clamorous cause of Independence. In the earlier town-meetings, Adams's services were important in drafting instructions against Parliamentary Taxation and on the rights and privileges of the Provinces, as well as, later on, in inditing the remonstrances of the Assembly of Massachusetts addressed to the English ministry and to the local governor, with petitions to the king, besides letters and reports to the other provincial Assemblies, urging the political necessity of Independence, and expressing the true sentiments and attitude of the Colonies in regard to English rule. In these multiform duties, as well as in his varied and long-continued services in organizing associations on behalf of the popular cause, and in addressing bodies of patriots, such as "The Sons of Liberty" and Continental Non-importation Leagues, formed for the purpose of uniting the Colonies in their opposition to the importation or use of English manufactures, imported tea, and other dutiable articles of commerce, Adams's labors were ceaseless and untiring, and were at length fraught with gratifying success.

To-day, in the present era of good feeling and the heartily recognized kinship between the two countries and peoples,

one can hardly realize the irritation and estrangement of that early period in Colonial history, and one is somewhat inclined to consider Samuel Adams not only as an unmitigated rebel, but as a man of contumacious mood and ill-regulated feelings, whom no one could appease or get pleasantly on with, and that no character of rule, however benign, would satisfy. It is true, there is that element in his composition which is more the mark of the agitator and breeder of sedition than of the calm, dispassionate, or even the calculating statesman; but the man was on fire for a cause, and his soul burned within him as he brooded over the wrongs of the Colonies and desired for them freedom from the exasperating yoke of the Motherland. From the first he seems to have meditated war, and to have wrought himself up into belief in it, as the only solvent for his country's troubles; while in pressing on to this extreme issue he saw that England's humiliation would surely come, and that independence for the American Colonies would thus be secured. How far this was the result of practical foresight, or an issue toward which he had early bent his mind and sought gratification in persistently advocating, are to-day questions somewhat difficult to answer. Doubtless, both had weight, spurred on by the dominance of the idea of Separation constantly in his mind, and by his ever active, bitter and vindicative hatred of England and of England's dominion in the New World. Ingrained in the man was his dislike of the Tories, who returned his hostility in kind, as well as his aspersions on their oppressive modes of government. Implacable and unappeasable as he was, the Tories soon saw that they could do nothing with him, not even by way of bribes or by

threats; while he treated them in the most contemptuous manner and deemed their rule as fit only for slaves. Not a little of his early hatred of them arose from his own misadventures as a young man in business and the wreck of his father's estate, especially his banking interests, which suffered from governmental restrictions and heavy taxation, which brought him into financial embarrassment and finally into the hands of the sheriff. Nor did he fare better as a tax collector, for his easy going ways and dislike of "putting on the screws" in the way of taxation of the people brought him into trouble and led to Governor Hutchinson's accusation of defalcation; while in reality the shortage in his accounts was due to his leniency as a collector, and, as we have said, to his unwillingness to resort to harsh methods of wringing the tax-levy moneys from the townspeople. His care for the latter and interest in them was always great, and rather than impoverish the taxes laid upon them by Tory administrations, he was willing to come short of his duty and bear the odium of seeming wrongdoing as the result of his sympathy and leniency. His indifference to his own personal interests and disregard of fortune was equally a characteristic of the man; while as a patriot he showed his incorruptibility by refusing money and other offers of reward from representatives of the Crown rather than prove untrue to the popular cause which he so incessantly labored for and held so dear. Nor did he flinch when denounced as a rebel, and when threatened with imprisonment and exportation to London, there to be punished for his disloyalty and many fulminations against the king and his government, had he been captured on perilous and disturb-

ing occasions when his seditious speech was most violent and his other incitements to rebellion were alike vociferous and fearless. That he was not hanged, beheaded, or otherwise made away with for his disaffection to England and for his contumacy as an inciter of rebellion, was certainly not his fault, for no one of the Revolutionary Fathers was more outspoken in his treason to the Crown, or more persistent in the many years before Independence came in the cause of liberty and freedom in the New World. With his own people—those at least whom he could trust—Samuel Adams was alike respected and beloved, and over them he exerted an influence beyond that of many of the leaders of the time, who were less acrimonious in speech, more circumspect in their attitude towards the representatives of royalty in New England. He stood staunchly for the rights and privileges of the people, and in the journals of the era none was more zealous or more influential in advocating and upholding the popular cause. In this and in numberless other ways he was looked upon as a man of sound conviction and earnest mood, as well as a true and fearless patriot, who well earned the regard of all, with the distinctive appellation of "the tribune of the people." His patriotic enthusiasm was most exuberant, and his earnestness influenced many towards him and his cause who might otherwise have remained indifferent, or, on the other hand, have gone over to the enemy, or acquiesced in the *status quo*.

But it is time to see a little more closely into the doings of this man, and to follow his career from birth up, that we may better realize the mission he undertook and trace his influence upon the age that preceded revolution and

finally ushered in the era of Independence. Samuel Adams was born at Boston, Mass., on the 16th of September, 1722. His father was by occupation a maltster, yet, socially, a man of some consequence in the community, being possessed of both influence and wealth. He, it seems, had a passion for politics, and was instrumental in organizing the Caulker's Club in Boston, a quasi-political assembly which embraced many men of note in the town, and from whose meeting together we derive the familiar word "caucus." From him, young Samuel inherited his taste for political gatherings and his aptitude in the management of them; while from his mother, Mary Fifield, he derived much of his earnest mood, persuasive manner, and not a little of his sturdy moral character. His progenitors were English; one, Henry Adams, having come from Devonshire in the seventeenth century, whose two sons were respectively the grandfathers of Samuel Adams, and of the latter's cousin, John Adams, the second U. S. President.

Samuel Adams was educated primarily at the Boston Latin School, whence, in 1736, he passed to Harvard College, from which he received, in 1740, his M. A. degree, and on the occasion delivered before the graduating class and the authorities of the institution an essay, which thus early showed the political drift of his thoughts, on the theme: "Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." The design of his parents, on the youth's leaving college was to have him study for the Congregational ministry; but this, it seems, was not to the young man's own liking, and for a time he served as a clerk in a store, though he soon found

that he had no aptness for business life. While he lost what capital had been given him by his father and fell back on a maltster's occupation in the establishment of the elder Adams. Meanwhile, he gratified his taste for writing by contributing to the newspapers of the day, and at the same time taking a lively interest in politics. In 1748, his father died, and the latter's estate having suffered loss through a disastrous banking speculation, the son accepted the appointment of tax collector for the town of Boston and entered upon the duties of the office. He, nominally at least, continued the connection with his late father's malting business, and in the following year, when twenty-seven years of age, he married Elizabeth Checkley, the winsome daughter of the minister of the New South Church, and made for a time a happy home for himself. Eight years later, this lady, who made her husband an excellent wife, died, and, in 1765, Adams married Elizabeth Wells, who also proved a faithful and sympathizing wife, and did much to aid her now active husband in his laborious and patriotic work. In both of these marriages the wives had to contend with straitened means, and had also to share in the obloquy which fell upon Adams from incensed Tory sources, as a consequence of his political hostility to Tory rule, and to the increasing English aggression, in the methods employed to control and coerce the American Colonies.

At this era, when George III had come (A. D. 1760) to the English throne and the political development of the Kingdom was actively manifesting itself, the great struggle with the American Colonies had its origin. When the King assumed the crown, the Seven Years' War had nearly

run its course, and the great question as to which power, France or England, should become master of North America and of India had been all but settled by the capture of Quebec (1759), and by Clive's victories at Arcot and Plassy. The success of the British arms and of imperial policy at this period was in considerable measure due to one of England's greatest statesmen, William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham. In 1756, Pitt was made Secretary of State, and during the Seven Years' War his vigorous and large-minded policy, as war minister, did much to restore England's military fame abroad and add to the laurels of the nation. His steady advocacy of the rights of the people, his passionate and almost resistless eloquence, and his marvellous power to animate and inspire a desponding nation, earned for him the title of "the great Commoner." Unfortunately, this able and safe minister was driven from office by the machinations of the "King's Party" in the Cabinet, led by the Scotch Tory, Lord Bute, supported by the King, who was his political pupil. Bute, for a time, became English prime minister, but with the peace Treaty of Paris, in 1763, which inadequately compensated England for her vast expenditures during the Seven Years' War, he became so unpopular that he resigned and was succeeded by George Grenville and his ministry, which, as we shall see, became seriously involved in difficulties with the North American Colonies on the question of taxation.

Out of these difficulties was to arise, as all know, the great struggle between popular and autocratic principles of government in England as well as in the New World. The Seven Years' War, which had been waged chiefly for

the protection of the Colonial dependencies, had left a heavy burden of debt upon England. To meet this debt, in part, Grenville, then English prime minister, proposed to levy a Stamp Tax upon the American Colonies, now, as we know, thirteen in number, with a population of two million whites and half a million blacks. But the Colonists objected to being taxed without their consent, and without representation in the British Parliament, and declared that they were sufficiently oppressed by the burden of Customs' duties already imposed upon them. The Stamp Act, it need hardly be said, was nevertheless passed, in spite of the protest of the Colonial Assemblies; but the obnoxious measure met with such opposition in America that, at Pitt's urgent solicitation, it was withdrawn. Parliament, however, passed another Act declaring its authority over the Colonies in matters of legislation and taxation, and this naturally increased the soreness of feeling in America against the mother country. The irritation was far from being allayed when a subsequent English administration imposed various small but vexing Customs' duties on American imports, but chiefly upon tea. In retaliation, the Colonists determined not to use this article. The spirit of resistance was soon now to take a determined form; for, on the one hand, the King and his ministers stubbornly insisted on England's right to derive some benefit from her Colonies; while, on the other hand, the Colonists as stubbornly held to the principle of no taxation without representation, and upheld the rights of their own Assemblies. Meanwhile, the Grenville ministry had passed away, with its successors under the leaderships of Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Grafton,

and was followed by the administration of Lord North. Pitt, who had now become Earl of Chatham, was for a time a member of the Grafton ministry, but resigned on the plea of ill-health. Partly recovering his strength, he became a vehement opponent of Lord North's government. Throughout the trouble with the American Colonists he was a staunch supporter of their cause, and in Parliament eloquently denounced arbitrary measures against them.

While these events were transpiring in England, Samuel Adams had been at Boston a most interested observor of them, as well as a more or less outspoken denouncer of English aggression, and especially of the policy of the Home Government in its efforts to control American trade and levy taxes upon the Colonists. The control of American trade was sought to be gained by the revival of old English Navigation Acts, and by levying prohibitory duties upon articles imported for use in the Colonies. American protest against these levies was shown, at first, by disregard of them, and afterwards by evading their collection illegally through smuggling, and, later on, by the non-use of the articles of commerce on which the duties were placed. Adams not only counselled, but delighted in counselling, the New England people to take these means of defying or evading the law. To such an extent did he go in his embittered talk against England, as well as in provoking a collision between the traders and the authorities in Boston, that the English governors were repeatedly horrified at Adams's seditious attitude, while again and again were they ordered to arrest the offender and send him for trial and punishment to the motherland. In spite of, or rather in

defiance of, these personal threats of the Crown, through its representatives in the Colony of Massachusetts, Adams continued on his rebel course, and at this time took violent ground against the issue of the "Writs of Assistance," so patriotically denounced by James Otis, and against Grenville's Stamp Act, his opposition to the latter being forcibly expressed in the draft he penned of the Assembly's Resolutions, as well as in the address he caused to be sent to the Assemblies of the sister Colonies pleading for united action in resisting England's encroachments on the inalienable rights of the American people.

The effect of the addresses sent to the sister Colonies in adding to the volume of outcry against the Stamp Act was immediate; while it was gratifying to Samuel Adams to find that the seeds of sedition he had been sowing by means of his voluminous correspondence and active agitation was producing fruit over the country in stiffening the resistance of the people to what was deemed an unjust and grievious tax. Under the influence of the orator, Patrick Henry, the Virginia Assembly, in 1765, passed a series of bold resolutions protesting against the hated measure and asserting the right, as Virginia's own, to lay taxes upon the Colony. In Massachusetts, opposition to the levying of the tax led to open violence and to a series of riots, house-sackings, and other disturbances which greatly alarmed the authorities and frightened the acting governor; while the passing of the Act led to the summoning of a Congress at New York, in October, 1765, which drew up petitions to the English government, and a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances of the Colonies in America." This Congress brought together

representatives of nine of the Colonies, among whom were a number of prominent men, such as James Otis, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, Livingston of New York, Rutledge of South Carolina, and other patriots. In the Massachusetts Assembly, to which body Samuel Adams had now been elected, resolutions were also drawn up protesting against the unlawful impost of the English Parliament and claiming for the colony the rights of freemen and British subjects. When the Act became operative, it was found, however, that the Colonists, as in other cases, evaded the law and tabooed the stamps; while litigants who were required to use them on legal documents adjusted their differences by arbitration and so avoided the use of the stamp. So serious was the crisis that the Courts were for the time closed and all business at the Custom houses was suspended. The newspapers printed a death's head or skull and bones where the stamp should be affixed. In other ways were the Colonies stirred up by this irritating method of laying taxes on them, till at last the volume of protest had its effect and the Stamp Act was repealed. Its repeal removed the difficulty, however, without removing the cause, since the English ministry found other methods of raising a revenue in the Colonies, so far, at least, as to meet some of the cost of the military expenditure of England in the country. This was effected by means of Revenue Acts, a scheme resorted to by Minister Townshend, who had declared in Parliament that "if the taxation of America is given up, England is undone." This new scheme of taxation was met in New England pretty much as the Stamp Act impost had been met, not only by united and more per-

emptory protest, but by common agreement not to import or use the taxed articles. The result was, that England found that the cost of collecting the new revenue duties equalled the gross sum obtained from them, and no financial advantage whatever accrued. Thus, the new attempt to coerce the Colonies was to England a disappointment as well as a failure, while it provoked renewed strife in New England and still further inflamed the spirit of hostility and sedition, now generally manifesting itself.

Another trouble now arose, in the opposition, chiefly in Boston, to the presence of English troops in barracks, and especially to their being billeted on the citizens, and made use of to overawe those attending the Massachusetts' Assembly and to break up so-called seditious meetings. This new tyranny, as Samuel Adams deemed it, he hotly denounced, not only because he hated the red coats as mercenaries of the English Crown, but because he refused to allow the public money of the Colony to be spent on their maintenance in the country. When they were used to interrupt or close his meetings, or when they fell foul of bodies of citizens and came to blows with them, as at "the Boston Massacre," Adams became wrathful in the extreme and loudly demanded their instant removal. Governor Hutchinson at first refused to accede to the request for their removal, alleging—probably honestly—want of authority to do so; but in answer to further clamor he consented to withdraw one regiment, when Adams took sturdy ground and insisted on the removal of "both regiments or none!" Unwillingly the Governor at length complied, and a patriot night-watch, composed of armed citizens, was substituted

for the troops. Toward the soldiers who had taken part in the so-called "Boston Massacre," Boston acted with clemency and discretion, and at their trial, it will be remembered, they had for counsel our hero's cousin, John Adams, of Braintree, Mass.

In 1773, the Colonists were finally estranged from the mother country by the arrival in Boston harbor of three ship-loads of taxed tea, which the Colonists, incited by Samuel Adams, refused to receive; and as the English Governor (Hutchinson) would not consent to the tea being returned to England, the whole cargo, at a signal given by Adams, was thrown overboard into Boston bay by patriots in the disguise of Mohawk Indians. For this lawless act the English government closed the port of Boston and took away the old charter of Massachusetts. In addition to abolishing the liberties of the people of the Colony, England sent out more troops, and on their arrival, together with a change in the governorship, from that of Hutchinson to the régime of Governor Gage, the Colonists banded themselves together for armed resistance. The wish of Adams' heart was now about to be gratified, and at this period another effort was made, by offers of bribes and high position, to conciliate him; but Gage failed in this as his predecessor had done. To this new offer of the olive leaf held out by the Governor, Adams replied with dignity as well as with earnestness: "Sir, I trust I have long since made my peace with the King of Kings. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country. Tell Governor Gage it is the advice of Samuel Adams to

him, no longer to insult the feelings of an exasperated people."

After this, Adams, in the eyes of the Governor and the Tories of the Colony, became practically a proscribed man; and under the Tory ban with him, to some extent, was his fellow-patriot, John Hancock, whom Adams, some years before, had induced to espouse and support with his large means the popular cause. At this era, when Boston had fallen far from royal favor, the town of Salem became for a time the capital of Massachusetts Colony and the meeting place of the legislature. Here, it was thought, under Gage's régime, that a Tory administration would prove more acceptable to the people; but in this the authorities of the time were wrong, for not only did the patriots present themselves in force and carry forward their plans, but the sister Colonies more heartily still joined Massachusetts in resisting subjection and responding to the resolutions passed by the Assembly summoning a Continental Congress.

This first Continental Congress, convened at Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, and included among its delegates Samuel and John Adams from Massachusetts, John Jay from New York, Patrick Henry and George Washington from Virginia, together with other influential men who were to figure in the coming hostilities in the field, or in the councils of the incipient nation when Revolution had brought about Union and Independence. The people now stood together for resistance, and all the Colonies but Georgia sent representatives to the Congress. In the latter, resolutions were first passed approving of the attitude of Massachusetts in resisting the aggression of the mother country in

imposing tyrannous laws on the Colony and in opposing the encroachments and other annoying acts of Gage and his predecessors in the royal government of the time. Then came a series of addresses and remonstrances, and a Declaration of Rights, setting forth the grievances which the several Colonies had to complain of and the privileges they claimed as freemen, opposed to coercive statutes and to annoying restrictions on their commerce. Before it adjourned, Congress formed an Association pledged to the non-importation of taxed articles from England, and recommending the several Colonies to pass local legislation effectively to debar the incoming of dutiable articles or their use by the people. The reply of the English Government to this attitude of the Colonies, in spite of the protests of Pitt and other conciliationists in England, was to declare Massachusetts in a state of rebellion and to ban all the Colonies from trade with Britain and the West Indies and from engaging in the Newfoundland fisheries.

In the doings of Congress, Adams took an interested part, though chiefly at work on committees and undertaking an extended correspondence with fellow-patriots over the country. His attitude at this time may be seen by his address in Congress, where he passionately exclaimed: "I should advise persisting in our struggle for liberty, though it were revealed from heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish, and only one in a thousand survived to retain his liberty. One such freeman must possess more virtue, and enjoy more happiness, than a thousand slaves; and let him propagate his like, and transmit to them what he hath so nobly preserved." Affairs were now fast drift-

ing beyond the point where talk was to influence either for coercion or for conciliation, and the whole machinery of the royal government in New England was stopped. In Boston, heated meetings were convened and addressed by Adams and by Dr. Joseph Warren. At one of the gatherings, held in the Old South Church, soldiers were present to fire on Adams, on Hancock, and on other inciters of rebellion, if provocation occurred and a melée ensued. Munitions of war were meanwhile being secreted by the patriots at various parts of New England, and soldiers were sent by Governor Gage to Lexington and Concord to endeavor to capture and destroy them. This happened in the spring of 1775, and at Lexington the first shots in the war were fired between the Colonists and a body of English troops. Trouble also came in another quarter, for Congress, while in session at Philadelphia, had invited the Canadians to join the American people in throwing off allegiance to Britain; but Canada remained loyal and refused to rally to the standard of revolt. This neutral attitude gave umbrage to the American Colonists and they then sought to invade Canada and wrest it from the British Crown. In 1775, two expeditions were fitted out for the purpose, one of which seized the forts on Lake Champlain, the gateway of Canada, and, thinking that the Canadians would offer no resistance, they proceeded to invest Montreal. Another expedition advanced upon Quebec. Montreal, being indifferently garrisoned, surrendered to an American force, but the attack on Quebec failed after some weeks' seige. The American General, Montgomery, who had formerly fought under Wolfe, was killed in storming the citadel on the 31st of

December, and the American campaign came to a speedy end.

Before this happened, an adjourned meeting of the Continental Congress took place (May, 1775), at Philadelphia, and a Provincial Congress met in Massachusetts. In the latter, provision was made to enrol the "minute men," as they were called, who were to respond to the summons of the State in any emergency call. In the former, now under the presidency of John Hancock, an important action was taken by John Adams, seconded by his counsin, Samuel Adams, namely, to appoint George Washington of Virginia, as commander-in-chief of the American army (June, 1775). Later, Charles Lee was mistakenly, as subsequently was proved, named second in command. In the same month, the English Governor of Massachusetts, General Gage, issued a proclamation avowing all citizens in arms rebels and traitors, though offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms and express fealty to the Crown, save John Hancock and Samuel Adams, whose offences were deemed too flagitious to admit of aught but condign puishment. Meanwhile, the Governor and the English troops were practically shut up in Boston, for the whole country was now astir and the Massachusetts' capital was beseiged by the patriot forces. On June 17, the British made a sortie from Boston and the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. Here the patriots were repulsed, while in the engagement Dr. Warren fell, though the loss was more serious on the whole to the English. The gauntlet of defiance was now thrown down by the Colonists, for New York at once called out her militia, and steps were taken to organize a National Government

and to raise an American Continental army. Later in the year, the fitting out of the nucleus of a naval defence force and the commissioning of privateers were authorized. The Continental Congress also took determined and urgent action, in organizing a Committee of Foreign Correspondence, the beginnings of American relations with foreign powers, to whom, ere long, ambassadors were sent to represent the new-born Republic. Congress at the same time threw open the interdicted ports of the New World to foreign commerce, ordered an issue of Continental paper money and called for national loans to meet the country's expenditures, organized a national postal service, and established courts for the adjudication of maritime questions. In the following year (1776), after all efforts towards reconciliation with England had failed and news came that the mother country now treated the Colonies as in open and armed rebellion, Congress took the momentous step of suppressing in America the entire authority of the English Crown and declared Independence. Now were Samuel Adams' dearest wishes and desires fulfilled, in that allegiance to Britain was by this Third Continental Congress declared at an end, and the United Colonies had assumed the powers of sovereign states, under the proud title of "The United States of America."

While these great acts were transpiring, Adams continued zealously to play his prominent rôle as "father of the American Revolution," and in that capacity he delivered at Philadelphia, in August, 1776, a notable oration on the new-born American Independence, which will be found appended to the present sketch of the patriot. At this time,

he was not only a member of the Congress that declared Independence, though he did not happen to be on the Committee that drafted the immortal document which Jefferson penned; but he was also Secretary of State in Massachusetts and a member of its Legislative Council, and took an active part in bringing the State militia into an efficient condition to prosecute the war with England, as well as to advise and counsel the War Committee and give assistance to the Committee that dealt with naval matters. So enthusiastic was he in these practical affairs, and so keen for victory for the American army in the field, that he wrote many addresses to the people of Pennsylvania counselling them against the Quaker doctrine, then prevalent, of submission to England, and thus further brought upon himself the bitter hatred of the Tories and other Loyalists throughout all the Colonies by his unflinching attitude as a patriot and his extreme disaffection toward the mother country, which he sought not only to defeat in the war, but to humiliate, as events later on proved, by an unconditional surrender.

We need hardly rehearse here the later events of the struggle, as they are so well known to all. It will suffice briefly to say that New York was occupied by General Howe, in 1776, and in the following year Lord Cornwallis defeated Washington at Brandywine, and took Philadelphia. A month later, however, the tide of fortune turned in favor of the Colonists; for France lent them her aid, and the English general, Burgoyne, was forced to surrender, with 6,000 men, at Saratoga. This disaster led the English to see that the war with their kinsmen in America was a mistake, and overtures of peace were talked of in Parlia-

ment. But the entry of France into the quarrel brought about a renewal of hostilities, urged on by the Earl of Chatham, who though he had opposed the taxation of the Colonies, as we have related, would not hear of the dismemberment of the Empire. While making a powerful speech in the House of Lords, against a proposal to make peace with America, the venerable statesman fell in a fit upon the floor, and died a month afterwards. The struggle henceforth with the Colonies went on with slackened energy, for war had broken out with France, Spain, and Holland, owing to England's persistence, in that she deemed her right to search the vessels of neutral nations; and England, having these combined powers against her, had to limit her land operations to the Southern States. There, in 1781, as all know, the English arms met with a crowning disaster. Lord Cornwallis, for a time successful in the Carolinas, had withdrawn his forces to Yorktown, Va., to await supplies and reinforcements from New York. While there, a French fleet entered the Chesapeake and shut him in from the sea. Washington, and the French general, Lafayette, then surrounded Cornwallis on land, when he was forced to capitulate. This event, we need hardly add, brought the war to an inglorious close for England, though the misfortune was relieved for her by victories at sea over the fleets of France and Spain. Two years afterwards, by the Peace of Versailles (1783), Britain recognized the Independence of the United States of America.

This signal achievement was, as it were, the coping-stone of American nationality which Samuel Adams lived to lay on the edifice which he helped so much to construct.

Henceforth he could take his ease, in the declining years of his career, and muse with satisfaction on the labors of his hands and brain. He lived for twenty years after England's recognition of Independence, and for a period he was successively Lieutenant-Governor and Governor of his native State (Mass.), retiring to private life in 1797, and dying at Boston on the 3rd of October, 1803, bearing to the grave the veneration and respect due to a notable and illustrious American and devotee of Liberty.

SAMUEL ADAMS'S ORATION ON AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

Delivered at Philadelphia in August, 1776.

COUNTRYMEN AND BRETHREN:—I would gladly have declined an honor to which I find myself unequal. I have not the calmness and impartiality which the infinite importance of this occasion demands. I will not deny the charge of my enemies, that resentment for the accumulated injuries of our country, rising to enthusiasm, may deprive me of that accuracy of judgment and expression which men of cooler passions may possess. Let me beseech you, then, to hear me with caution, to examine your prejudice, and to correct the mistakes into which I may be hurried by my zeal.

Truth loves an appeal to the common sense of mankind. Your unperverted understandings can best determine on subjects of a practical nature. The positions and plans which are said to be above the comprehension of the multitude

may be always suspected to be visionary and fruitless. He who made all men, hath made the truths necessary to human happiness obvious to all.

Our forefathers threw off the yoke of Popery° in religion; for you is reserved the levelling the popery of politics. They opened the Bible to all, and maintained the capacity of every man to judge for himself in religion. Are we sufficient for the comprehension of the sublimest spiritual truths, and unequal to material and temporal ones? Heaven hath trusted us with the management of things for eternity, and man denies us ability to judge of the present, or to know from our feelings the experience that will make us happy. "You can discern," say they, "objects distant and remote, but cannot perceive those within your grasp. Let us have the distribution of present goods, and cut out and manage as you please the interests of futurity." This day, I trust, the reign of political protestantism° will commence. We have explored the temple of royalty, and found that the idol we have bowed down to has eyes which see not, ears that hear not our prayers, and a heart like the nether millstone. We have this day restored the Sovereign, to whom alone men ought to be obedient. He reigns in Heaven, and with a propitious eye beholds his subjects assuming that freedom of thought and dignity of self-direction which He bestowed on them. From the rising to the setting sun may His kingdom come.

Having been a slave to the influence of opinions early acquired and distinctions generally received, I am ever inclined not to despise but to pity those who are yet in darkness. But to the eye of reason what can be more clear than

that all men have an equal right to happiness? Nature made no other distinction than that of higher or lower degrees of power of mind and body. But what mysterious distribution of character has the craft of statesmen, more fatal than priestcraft, introduced?

According to their° doctrine, the offspring of a successful invader shall, from generation to generation, arrogate the right of lavishing on their pleasures a proportion of the fruits of the earth, more than sufficient to supply the wants of thousands of their fellow-creatures; claim authority to manage them like beasts of burthen °; and without superior industry, capacity, or virtue,—nay, though disgraceful to humanity by their ignorance, intemperance, and brutality, —shall be deemed best calculated to frame laws and to consult for the welfare of society.

Were the talents and virtues which Heaven has bestowed upon men given merely to make them more obedient drudges, to be sacrificed to the follies and ambitions of the few? Or were not the noble gifts so equally dispensed with a divine purpose and law that they should as nearly as possible be equally exerted, and the blessings of poverty be equally enjoyed by all? Away, then, with those absurd systems, which, to gratify the pride of a few, debase the greatest part of our species below the order of men. What an affront to the King of the universe, to maintain that the happiness of a monster sunk in debauchery and spreading desolation and murder among men, of a Caligula, a Nero, or a Charles,° is more precious in His sight than that of millions of His suppliant creatures, who do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with their God! No! in the

judgment of Heaven there is no other superiority among men than a superiority in wisdom and virtue. And can we have a safer model in forming ours? The Diety, then, has not given any order or family of men authority over others, and if any men have given it, they only ° could give it for themselves. Our forefathers, 'tis said, consented to be subject to the laws of Great Britain. I will not, at present, dispute it, nor mark out the limits and conditions of their submission; but will it be denied that they contracted to pay obedience, and to be under the control of Great Britain, because it appeared to them most beneficial in their then present circumstances and situations? We, my countrymen, have the same right to consult and provide for our happiness which they had to promote theirs. If they had a view to posterity in their contracts, it must have been to advance the felicity of their descendants. If they erred in their expectations, and prospects, we can never be condemned for a conduct which they would have recommended had but they foreseen our present condition.

Ye darkeners of counsel, who would make the property, lives, and religion of millions depend on the evasive interpretations of musty parchments; who would send us to antiquated charters, of uncertain and contradictory meaning, to prove that the present generation are not bound to be victims to cruel and unforgiving despotism, tell us whether our pious and generous ancestors bequeathed to us the miserable privilege of having the rewards of our honest industry, the fruits of those fields which they purchased and bled for, wrested from us at the will of men over whom we have no check? Did they contract for us that, with folded arms,

we should expect that justice and mercy from brutal and inflamed invaders which have been denied to our supplications at the foot of the throne? Were we to hear our character as a people ridiculed with indifference? Did they promise for us that our meekness and patience should be insulted; our coasts harassed; our towns demolished and plundered, and our wives and offspring exposed to nakedness, hunger, and death, without our feeling the resentment of men, and exerting those powers of self-preservation which God has given us? No man had once a greater veneration for Englishmen than I entertained. They were dear to me, as branches of the same parental trunk, and partakers of the same religion and laws; I still view with respect the remains of the constitution ° as I would a lifeless body which had once been animated by a great and heroic soul. But when I am roused by the din of arms; when I behold legions of foreign assassins, paid by Englishmen to imbrue their hands in our blood; when I tread over the uncoffined bones of my countrymen, neighbors, and friends; when I see the locks of a venerable father torn by savage hands, and a feeble mother, clasping her infants to her bosom, on her knees imploring their lives from her own slaves, whom Englishmen have allured to treachery and murder; when I behold my country, once the seat of industry, peace, and plenty, changed by Englishmen to a theatre of blood and misery, Heaven forgive me if I cannot root out those passions which it has implanted in my bosom, and detest submission to a people who have either ceased to be human, or have not virtue enough to feel their own wretchedness ° and servitude.

Men who content themselves with the semblance of truth, and a display of words, talk much of our obligations to Great Britain for protection! Had she a single eye to our advantage? A nation ° of shopkeepers are very seldom so disinterested. Let us not be so amused with words; the extension of her commerce was her object. When she defended our coasts, she fought for her customers, and convoyed our ships loaded with wealth which we had acquired for her by our industry. She has treated us as beasts of burthen, whom the lordly masters cherish that they may carry a greater load. Let us inquire also against whom she has protected us; against her own enemies with whom we had no quarrel, or only on her account, and against whom we always readily exerted our wealth and strength when they were required. Were these Colonies backward in giving assistance to Great Britain when they were called upon in 1739 to aid the expedition against Carthagena ° ? They at that time sent three thousand men to join the British army, although the war commenced without their consent. But the last ° war, 'tis said, was purely American. This is a vulgar error, which like many others has gained credit by being confidently repeated. The disputes between the courts of Great Britain and France related to the limits of Canada and Nova Scotia. The controverted territory was not claimed by any in the Colonies, but by the Crown of Great Britain. It was, therefore, their own quarrel. The infringement of a right which England had, by the treaty of Utrecht, of trading in the Indian country of Ohio, was another cause of the war. The French seized large quantities of British manufacture, and took posession

of a fort which a company of British merchants and factors had erected for the security of their commerce. The war was, therefore, waged in defence of lands claimed by the Crown and for the protection of British property. The French at that time had no quarrel with America; and, as appears by letters sent from their commander-in-chief to some of the Colonies, wished to remain in peace with us. The part, therefore, which we then took, the miseries to which we exposed ourselves, ought to be charged to our affection for Britain. These Colonies granted more than their proportion to the support of the war. They raised, clothed, and maintained nearly twenty-five thousand men, and so sensible were the people of England of our great exertions that a message was annually sent to the House of Commons purporting, "That his Majesty being highly satisfied with the zeal and vigor with which his faithful subjects in North America had exerted themselves in defence of his Majesty's just rights and possessions, recommended it to the House to take the same into consideration and enable him to give them a proper compensation."

But what purpose can arguments of this kind answer? Did the protection we received annul our rights as men, and lay us under an obligation of being miserable?

Who among you, my countrymen, that is a father, would claim authority to make your child a slave because you had nourished him in his infancy?

'Tis a strange species of generosity which requires a return infinitely more valuable than anything it could have bestowed; that demands as a reward for a defence of our property a surrender of those inestimable privileges, to the

arbitrary will of vindictive tyrants, which alone give value to that very property.

Political right and public happiness are different words for the same idea. They who wander into metaphysical labyrinths, or have recourse to original contracts, to determine the rights of men, either impose on themselves or mean to delude others. Public utility is the only certain criterion. It is a test which brings disputes to a speedy decision, and makes it appeal to the feelings of mankind. The force of truth has obliged men to use arguments drawn from this principle, who were combating it, in practice and speculation. The advocates for a despotic government, and non-resistance to the magistrate, employ reasons in favor of their systems, drawn from a consideration of their tendency to promote public happiness.

The Author of Nature directs all his operations to the production of the greatest good, and has made human virtue to consist in a disposition and conduct which tends to the common felicity of His creatures. An abridgement of the natural freedom of man, by the institution of political societies, is vindicable only on this foot °. How absurd, then, is it to draw arguments from the nature of civil society for the annihilation of those very ends which society was intended to procure. Men associate for their mutual advantage. Hence the good and happiness of the members, that is, the majority of the members of any state, is the great standard by which everything relating to that state must finally be determined; and though it may be supposed that a body of people may be bound by a voluntary resignation (which they have been so infatuated as to make) of all

their interests to a single person, or to a few, it can never be conceived that the resignation is obligatory to their posterity, because it is manifestly contrary to the good of the whole that it should be so.

These are the sentiments of the wisest and most virtuous champions of freedom. Attend to a portion on this subject from a book in our defence written, I had almost said, by the pen of inspiration, "I lay no stress," says he, "on charters; they derive their rights from a higher source. It is inconsistent with common sense to imagine that any people would ever think of settling in a distant country, on any such condition, or that the people from whom they withdrew should forever be masters of their property, and have power to subject them to any modes of government they pleased. And had there been express stipulations to this purpose in all the charters of the colonies, they would, in my opinion, be no more bound by them than if it had been stipulated with them that they should go naked, or expose themselves to the incursions of wolves and tigers."

Such are the opinions of every virtuous and enlightened patriot in Great Britain. Their petition to Heaven is, "That there may be one free country left upon earth, to which they may fly when venality, luxury, and vice shall have completed the ruin of liberty there."

Courage, then, my countrymen! Our contest is not only whether we ourselves shall be free, but whether there shall be left to mankind an ayslum on earth for civil and religious liberty. Dismissing, therefore, the justice of our cause as incontestable, the only question is, What is best for us to pursue in our present circumstances?

The doctrine of dependence upon Great Britain is, I believe, generally exploded; but as I would attend to the honest weakness of the simplest of men, you will pardon me if I offer a few words on this subject.

We are now on this continent, to the astonishment of the world, three millions of souls united in one common cause. We have large armies well disciplined and appointed, with commanders ° inferior to none in military skill, and superior in activity and zeal. We are furnished with arsenals and stores beyond our most sanguine expectations, and foreign nations are waiting to crown our success with their alliances. There are instances of, I would say, an almost astonishing Providence in our favor; our success has staggered our enemies, and almost given faith to infidels °; so that we may truly say it is not our own arm which has saved us.

The hand of Heaven seems to have led us on to be, perhaps, humble instruments and means in the great Providential dispensation which is completing. We have fled from the political Sodom; let us not look back lest we perish and become a monument of infamy and derision to the world. For can we ever expect more unanimity and a better preparation for defense; more infatuation of counsel among our enemies, and more valor and zeal among ourselves? The same force and resistance which are sufficient to procure us our liberties, will secure us a glorious independence and support us in the dignity of free, imperial States. We cannot suppose that our opposition has made a corrupt and dissipated nation more friendly to America, or created in them a greater respect for the rights of mankind. We can,

therefore, expect a restoration and establishment of our privileges, and a compensation for the injuries we have received from their want of power, from their fears, and not from their virtues. The unanimity and valor which will affect an honorable peace can render a future contest for our liberties unnecessary. He who has strength to chain down the wolf, is a madman if he lets him loose without drawing his teeth and paring his nails.

From the day on which an accommodation ° takes place between England and America on any other terms than as independent states, I shall date the ruin of this country. A politic minister will study to lull us into security by granting us the full extent of our petitions. The warm sunshine of influence would melt down the virtue which the violence of the storm rendered more firm and unyielding. In a state of tranquility, wealth and luxury, our descendants would forget the arts of war and the noble activity and zeal which made their ancestors invincible. Every art of corruption would be employed to loosen the bond of union which renders our resistance formidable. When the spirit of liberty which now animates our hearts and gives success to our arms is extinct, our numbers will accelerate our ruin, and render us easier victims to tyranny. Ye abandoned minions of an infatuated ministry, if peradventure any should yet remain among us—remember that a Warren and a Montgomery are numbered among the dead! Contemplate the mangled bodies of your countrymen and then say, what should be the reward of such sacrifices? Bid not our posterity bow the knee, supplicate the friendship, and plough and sow and reap, to glut the avarice of the men

who have let loose on us the dogs of war to riot in our blood, and hunt us from the face of the earth! If ye love wealth better than liberty, the tranquility of servitude than the animating contest of freedom, go from us in peace. We ask not your counsels or arms. Crouch down and lick the hands which feed you. May your chains set lightly upon you, and may posterity forget that ye were our countrymen.

To unite the *Supremacy of Great Britain* and the *Liberty of America* is utterly impossible. So vast a continent and at such a distance from the seat of empire, will every day grow more unmanageable. The motion of so unwieldy a body cannot be directed with any dispatch and uniformity, without committing to the Parliament of Great Britain powers inconsistent with our freedom. The authority and force which would be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order of this continent would put all our valuable rights within the reach of that nation.

As the administration of government requires firmer and more numerous supports in proportion to its extent, the burthens imposed on us would be excessive, and we should have the melancholy prospect of their increasing on our posterity. The scale of officers, from the rapacious and needy commissioner, to the haughty governor, and from the governor with his hungry train to perhaps a licentious and prodigal viceroy, must be upheld by you and your children. The fleets and armies which will be employed to silence your murmurs and complaints must be supported by the fruits of your industry.°

And yet, with all this enlargement of the expense and

powers of government, the administration of it at such a distance and over so extensive a territory, must necessarily fail of putting the laws into vigorous execution, removing private oppressions, and forming plans for the advancement of agriculture and commerce, and preserving the vast empire in any tolerable peace and security. If our posterity retain any spark of patriotism, they can never tamely submit to any such burthens. This country will be made the field of bloody contention till it gains that independence for which nature formed it. It is, therefore, injustice and cruelty to our offspring, and would stamp us with the character of baseness and cowardice, to leave the salvation of this country to be worked out by them with accumulated difficulty and danger.

Prejudice, I confess, may warp our judgments. Let us hear the decisions ° of Englishmen who cannot be suspected of partiality: "The Americans," they say, "are but little short of half our number. To this number they have grown from a small body of settlers by a very rapid increase. The probability is that they will go on to increase, and that in fifty or sixty years they will be double our number and form a mighty empire, consisting of a variety of states, all equal or superior to ourselves in all the arts and accomplishments which give dignity and happiness to human life. In that period will they be still bound to acknowledge that supremacy over them which we now claim? Can there be any person who will assert this or whose mind does not revolt at the idea of a vast continent, holding all that is valuable to it, at the discretion of a handful of people on the other side of the Atlantic? But if at that period this would

be unreasonable, what makes it otherwise now? Draw the line if you can. But there is still a greater difficulty.

"Britain is now, I will suppose, the seat of liberty and virtue, and its legislature consists of a body of able and independent men, who govern with wisdom and justice. The time may come when all will be reversed; when its excellent constitution of government will be subverted; when, pressed by debts and taxes, it will be greedy to draw to itself an increase of revenue from every distant province, in order to ease its own burdens; when the influence of the crown, strengthened by luxury and by an universal profligacy of manners, will have tainted every heart, broken down every fence of liberty, and rendered us a nation of tame and contented vassals; when a general election will be nothing but a general auction of boroughs, and when the Parliament, the grand council of the nation, and once the faithful guardian of the state and a terror to evil ministers, will be degenerated into a body of sycophants, dependent and venal, always ready to confirm any measures, and little more than a public court for registering royal edicts. Such, it is possible, may sometime or other be the state of Great Britain. What will at that period be the duty of the colonies? Will they be still bound to unconditional submission? Must they always continue an appendage to our government, and follow it implicitly through every change that can happen to it? Wretched condition, indeed, of millions of freemen as good as ourselves! Will you say that we now govern equitably and that there is no danger of such revolution? Would to God this were true! But will you not always say the same? Who shall judge whether we govern equi-

tably or not? Can you give the Colonies any security that such a period will never come?" No! *The period, countrymen, is already come!* The calamities were at our door. The rod of oppression was raised over us. We were roused from our slumbers, and may we never sink into repose until we can convey a clear and undisputed inheritance to our posterity. This day we are called upon to give a glorious example of what the wisest and best of men were rejoiced to view only in speculation.° This day presents the world with the most august spectacle its annals have ever unfolded —millions of freemen deliberately and voluntarily forming themselves into a society for their common defence and common happiness. Immortal spirits of Hampden, Locke, and Sidney! Will it not add to your benevolent joys to behold your posterity rising to the dignity of men, and evincing to the world the reality and expediency of your systems, and in the actual enjoyment of that equal liberty which you were happy, when on earth, in delineating and recommending to mankind!

Other nations have received their laws from conquerors; some are indebted for a constitution to the sufferings of their ancestors through revolving centuries. The people of this country alone have formally and deliberately chosen a government for themselves, and with open and uninfluenced consent bound themselves to a social compact. Here no man proclaims his birth or wealth as a title to honorable distinction or to sanctify ignorance and vice with the name of hereditary authority. He who has most zeal and ability to promote public felicity, let him be the servant of the public. This is the only line of distinction drawn by na-

ture. Leave the bird of night to the obscurity for which nature intended him, and expect only from the eagle to burst the clouds with his wings and look boldly in the face of the sun.

Some who would persuade us that they have tender feelings for future generations, while they are insensible to the happiness of the present, are perpetually foreboding a train of dissensions under our popular system. Such men's reasoning amounts to this: give up all that is valuable to Great Britain, and then you will have no inducements to quarrel among yourselves; or suffer yourselves to be chained down by your enemies, that you may not be able to fight with your friends.

This is an insult on your virtue as well as your common sense. Your unanimity this day and through the course of the war is a decisive refutation of such invidious predictions. Our enemies have already had evidence that our present constitution ° contains in it the justice and ardor of freedom, and the wisdom and vigor of the most absolute system. When the law is the will of the people, it will be uniform and coherent; but fluctuation, contradiction, and inconsistency of councils must be expected under those governments where every revolution in the ministry of a court produces one in the state. Such being the folly and pride of all ministers, that they ever pursue measures directly opposite to those of their predecessors.

We shall neither be exposed to the necessary convulsions of elective monarchies, nor to the want of wisdom, fortitude, and virtue to which hereditary succession is liable. In your hands it will be to perpetuate a prudent, active, and

just legislature, which will never expire until you yourselves lose the virtues which give it existence.

And, brethren and fellow-countrymen, if it was ever granted to mortals to trace the designs of Providence, and interpret its manifestations in favor of their cause, we may, with humility of soul, cry out "Not unto us, not unto us, but to thy Name be the praise." The confusion of the devices among our enemies, and the rage of the elements against them, have done almost as much toward our success as either our councils or our arms.

The time at which this attempt on our liberties was made, when we were ripened into maturity, had acquired a knowledge of war, and were free from the incursions of enemies in this country, the gradual advances of our oppressor, enabling us to prepare for our defence, the unusual fertility of our lands and the clemency of the seasons, the success which at first attended our feeble arms, producing unanimity among our friends, and reducing our internal foes to acquiescence—these are all strong and palpable marks and assurances, that Providence is yet gracious unto Zion, that it will turn away the captivity of Jacob.

Our ° glorious reformers, when they broke through the fetters of superstition, effected more than could be expected from an age so darkened. But they left much to be done by their posterity. They lopped off, indeed, some of the branches of popery, but they left the root and stock when they left us under the domination of human systems and decisions, usurping the infallibility which can be attributed to revelation only. They dethroned one ursurper only to raise up another. They refused allegiance to the

Pope, only to place the civil magistrate in the throne of Christ, vested with authority to enact laws, and inflict penalties in his kingdom. And if we now cast our eyes over the nations of the earth, we shall find that instead of possessing the pure religion of the Gospel, they may be divided either into infidels, who deny the truth, or politicans, who make religion a stalking horse for their ambition, or professors, who walk in the trammels of orthodoxy, and are more attentive to traditions and ordinances of men than to the oracles of truth.

The civil magistrate has everywhere contaminated religion by making it an engine of policy; and freedom of thought and the right of private judgment, in matters of conscience driven from every other corner of the earth, direct their course to this happy country as their last asylum. Let us cherish the noble guests, and shelter them under the wings of an universal toleration. Be this the seat of unbounded religious freedom. She will bring with her in her train, industry, wisdom, and commerce. She thrives most when left to shoot forth in her natural luxuriance, and asks from human policy only not to be checked in her growth by artificial encouragements.

Thus, by the beneficence of Providence, we shall behold our empire arising, founded on justice and the voluntary consent of the people, and giving full exercise of those faculties and rights which most ennoble our species. Besides the advantages of liberty and the most equal constitution, heaven has given us a country with every variety of climate and soil, pouring forth in abundance whatever is necessary for the support, comfort, and strength of a nation. With-

in our own borders we possess all the means of sustenance, defence, and commerce; at the same time, these advantages are so distributed among the different states of this continent, as if nature had in view to proclaim to us!—be united among yourselves, and you will want ° nothing from the rest of the world.

The more Northern States most amply supply us with every necessary, and many of the luxuries of life: with iron, timber, and masts for ships of commerce or of war; with flax for the manufactory of linen, and seed either for oil or exportation.

So abundant are our harvests that almost every part raised more than double the quantity of grain requisite for the support of its inhabitants. From Georgia to the Carolinas we have, as well for our own wants as for the purpose of supplying the wants of other powers, indigo, rice, hemp, naval stores and lumber.

Virginia and Maryland teem with wheat, Indian corn, and tobacco. Every nation whose harvest is precarious, or whose lands yield not those commodities which we cultivate, will gladly exchange their superfluities and manufactures for ours.

We have already received many and larger cargoes of clothing, military stores, etc., from our commerce with foreign powers, and, in spite of the efforts of the boasted navy of England, we shall continue to profit ° by this connection.

The want of our naval stores has already increased the price of these articles to a great height, especially in Britain. Without our lumber, it will be impossible for those haughty

islanders to convey the products of the West Indies to their own ports; for while they may with difficulty effect it, but without our assistance their resources must soon fail. Indeed, the West India Islands appear as the necessary appendages to this our empire. They must owe their support to it, and ere long, I doubt not, some of them will from necessity wish to enjoy the benefit of our protection.°

These natural advantages will enable us to remain independent of the world, or make it the interest of European powers to court our alliance and aid in protecting us against the invasions of others. What argument, therefore, do we want to show the equity of our conduct; or motive of interest to recommend it to our prudence? Nature points out the path, and our enemies have obliged us to pursue it.

If there is any man so base or so weak as to prefer a dependence on Great Britain, to the dignity and happiness of living a member of a free and independent nation, let me tell him that necessity now demands what the generous principle of patriotism should have dictated.

We have now no other alternative than independence, or the most ignominous and galling servitude. The legions of our enemies thicken on our plains; desolation and death mark their bloody career; whilst the mangled corpses of our countrymen seem to cry out to us as a voice from heaven: "Will you permit our posterity to groan under the galling chains of our murderers? Has our blood been expended in vain? Is the only reward which our constancy till death has obtained for our country, that it should be sunk into a deeper and more ignominious vassalage? Recollect who are the men that demand your submission; to whose decrees you are

invited to pay obedience. Men who, unmindful of their relation to you as brethren, of your long implicit submission to their laws, of the sacrifice which you and your forefathers made of your natural advantages for commerce to their avarice—formed a deliberate plan to wrest from you the small pittance of property which they had permitted you to acquire. Remember that the men who wish to rule over you are they who, in pursuit of this plan of despotism, annulled the sacred contracts which had been made with your ancestors; conveyed into your cities a mercenary soldiery to compel you to submission by insult and murder—who called your patience, cowardice; your piety, hypocrisy."

Countrymen, the men who now invite you to surrender your rights into their hands, are the men who have let loose the merciless savages to riot in the blood of their brethren; who have dared to establish popery triumphant in our land; who have taught treachery to your slaves, and courted them to assassinate your wives and children.

These are the men ° to whom we are exhorted to sacrifice the blessings which Providence holds out to us,—the happiness, the dignity of uncontrolled freedom and independence.

Let not your generous indignation be directed against any among us, who may advise so absurd and maddening a measure. Their number is but few and daily decreases; and the spirit which can render them patient of slavery, will render them contemptible enemies.

Our Union is now complete; our Constitution composed, established, and approved. You are now the guardians of your own liberties. We may justly address you as the

Decemviri did the Romans, and say: "Nothing that we propose can pass into a law without your consent. Be yourselves, O Americans, the authors of those laws on which your happiness depends."

You have now in the field armies sufficient to repel the whole force of your enemies and their base and mercenary auxiliaries.° The hearts of your soldiers beat high with the spirit of freedom; they are animated with the justice of their cause; and while they grasp their swords, can look up to heaven for assistance. Your adversaries are composed of wretches who laugh at the rights of humanity, who turn religion into derision, and would for higher wages direct their swords against their leaders or their country. Go on then, in your generous enterprise, with gratitude to heaven for past success and confidence of it in the future. For my own part, I ask no greater blessing than to share with you the common danger and common glory. If I have a wish dearer to my soul than that my ashes may be mingled with those of a Warren or a Montgomery, it is that these American States may never cease to be *free and independent!*

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF ADAMS.

ADAMS AND GOVERNOR GAGE.

Governor Gage arrived in Boston in May, 1774, and presuming upon the truth of a maxim which originated among British politicians, and was generally believed there, that "every man has his price," offered a heavy "consideration," through Colonel Fenton, his agent, to Samuel Adams.

But those minions of regal power and rotten aristocracy were destined to learn that there is such a thing as patriotism, which thrones cannot awe nor bribes corrupt.

Colonel Fenton waited upon Mr. Adams, and expressed to him the great desire of the British Government to settle the troubles in the colonies peacefully.

He said to him that he had been authorized by Governor Gage to assure him, that he was instructed by the Home government to confer upon him such rewards as would be satisfactory, on condition that he would engage to cease his opposition to the measures of the British Crown.

He added that it was the advice of Governor Gage to Mr. Adams not to incur the further displeasure of the king, as his conduct had already made him liable to trial for treason. But, he added further, if Mr. Adams would change his political course, he would not only receive great personal advantage, but would make his peace with the king.

Mr. Adams, glowing with indignation at such attacks upon his honor and patriotism, first demanded of the

messenger, Fenton, a solemn pledge that he would return to Gage his reply just as it was given. He then rose up, and in a firm manner, said:

"I trust that I have long since made my peace with the King of kings. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country.

"Tell Governor Gage it is the advice of Samuel Adams, to him, no longer to insult the feelings of an exasperated people."

ADAMS AND HANCOCK.

Another sagacious movement on the part of Samuel Adams, and one of the most profitable deeds of his patriotic life, was his winning the very rich and accomplished John Hancock to the popular cause. The means of accomplishing this have never been made known, but as to the author of the achievement there is no doubt. The cause of freedom throughout the world is greatly indebted to both men. One gave to it his great mind, and the other his splendid fortune; one obtained cotemporary fame, the other, like all heroes of the highest order reposed on posterity.

But it is easy to suppose, that the watchful and diligent votary of liberty felt no little complacency in gaining so potent an auxiliary to the cause he so dearly loved.

One day John and Samuel Adams were walking in the Boston Mall, and when they came opposite the stately mansion of Mr. Hancock, the latter, turning to the former, said, with emphasis:

"I have done a very good thing for our cause in the course of the past week, by enlisting the master of that house in it. He is well disposed, and has great riches, and we can give him consequence to enjoy them."

And Mr. Hancock did not disappoint his expectations; for when they gave him the "consequence," so genial to his nature, by making him President of Congress, he put everything at stake, in opposition to British encroachments.

THE PROSCRIPTION OF ADAMS AND HANCOCK.

June 12, 1775, Gage proclaimed martial law. In this proclamation was the famous proscription of Hancock and Adams, "in which his Majesty's gracious pardon was offered to all persons who should forthwith lay down their arms and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon, Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offenses are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other than condign punishment."

This proscription but added new lustre to the patriots' names, giving them enviable distinction and undying fame.

In the Boston "*Gazette*," June 24, 1775, appeared a rhymed version, of which we give one stanza:

> "But then I must out of this plan lock
> Both Samuel Adams and John Hancock,
> For these vile traitors (like bedentures),
> Must be tricked up at all adventures,
> As any proffer of a pardon
> Would only tend these rogues to harden."

LOYALTY TO NON-IMPORTATION.

In the Boston "*Gazette*," September 9, 1771, over the signature, "Candidus," Mr. Adams expresses his inflexible determination and singleness of vision.

"Should we acquiesce in their taking threepence only because they please, we at least tacitly consent that they should have sovereign control of our purses, and when they please they will claim an equal right, and, perhaps, plead a precedent from it to take a shilling or a pound.

"At present we have the reins in our own hands; we can easily avoid paying tribute by abstaining from the use of those articles by which it is extorted from us."

This advice he carried into practice in his own house. Tea was interdicted almost from the first hint of persistent taxation. A marked preference was shown for everything of American manufacture.

Mr. Adams never wore nor permitted his family to wear English cloth. "It behooves every American," he went on to say, "to encourage home manufactures, that our oppressors may feel through their pockets the effects of their blind folly."

ADAMS' NEW CLOTHES.

As an instance of the popular esteem in which Mr. Adams was held, his daughter relates that before his departure for Congress in 1774, as the family were assembled at supper, a knock at the door announced a well-known tailor, who, refusing to answer any questions, insisted on measuring Adams for a suit of clothes; he was followed by a fashionable hatter, then by a shoe

maker, and several others on similar errands. A few days after a large trunk, addressed to Mr. Samuel Adams, was brought to the house and deposited in the doorway.

It contained a complete suit of clothes, two pairs of shoes in the best style, a set of silver shoe-buckles, a set gold knee-buckles, a set of gold sleeve-buttons (still preserved by a descendant and namesake), an elegant cocked hat, gold-headed cane, *red cloak*, and other minor articles of wearing apparel.

The cane and sleeve-buttons (which Mr. Adams wore when he signed the Declaration of Independence), bore the device of the Liberty cap.—*Harper's Magazine, July, 1876.*

A MIXTURE OF TEA.

In the fall of 1776, when Mr. John Adams and Mr. Samuel Adams were both in Philadelphia, the former sent his wife, by Mr. Gerry, a pound of green tea as a choice present, paying for the same upwards of forty shillings. Through some mistake on the part of the messenger, the canister was given to Mrs. Samuel instead of to Mrs. John.

On hospitality intent, the former invited the latter, with some friends, to a tea-drinking. Mrs. John praised the tea which Mrs. Samuel's *sweetheart* had sent her, and grumbled not a little in her next letter to John that he should not have been as attentive as his kinsman. The cream of the joke appeared, however, when Mrs. John discovered it was her own tea with which she had

been so bountifully entertained. Of course, when the error was discovered, Mrs. Samuel returned all that remained.

ADAMS' SOCIAL CHARACTER.

Mr. Adams has been represented as austere, straitlaced and puritanical, permitting neither levity nor amusement in his household. But this is incorrect as to his home life.

Statue of Adams, Adams Square, Boston.

He delighted in young society and the sports of children; had always pleasant words for them, and was one of those benignant characters whom children approach with confidence and love.

His own recreations were few—either riding with a friend into the country, or sailing in the harbor, it may be to test one of his friend Hancock's newly launched ships; perhaps an excursion to Harvard College, his beloved Alma Mater, or to the light house; a rough jaunt over sharp rocks to the point of the island opposite Nantucket, where there was a hideous cave containing marine curiosities.

His only personal accomplishment was singing, for which he possessed both fine natural taste and "the voice of an angel." His two children, whose education he himself superintended, idolized him as an affectionate, tender father and wise friend.

FEARLESSNESS AND BOLDNESS.

Samuel Adams was fearless of all combinations of human power. Pure and exalted patriotism was the boldest feature in his character.

Of him it may be truly said, that the fear of man never fell upon him; it never entered into his thoughts much less was it seen in his actions.

He was by original temperament mild, conciliating and candid; and yet he was remarkable for an uncompromising firmness.

Grattan said of Fox: "He stood against the current of the court; he stood against the tide of the people; he stood against both united.

"He was the isthmus lashed by the waves of democracy, and by the torrent of despotism, unaffected by either and superior to both; the Marpesian rock that struck its base to the centre, and raised its forehead to the skies."

And such was Samuel Adams. He was the most puritanic of all our statesmen. Others were endued with the more splendid gifts, and more flexile powers of popular harangue; but he, above all his contemporaries, glorified with his incorruptible poverty the Revolution which he was the first to excite and the last to abandon.

BREADTH OF VIEW.

It has been said of Abraham Lincoln that he saw through his lawyer's brief, "the general principles of the divine administration." And so in all the petty disputes over charters and taxes, Samuel Adams kept in view Milton's true ideal of a "Just Commonwealth."

It was certainly an historic anomaly, when, to quote from Burke's great speech on American taxation, "So paltry a sum as three-pence in the eyes of the financier, and so insignificant an article as tea, in the eyes of the philosopher, should have shaken the pillars of a commercial empire, that circled the whole globe."

But both Edmund Burke and Samuel Adams knew that it was not paltry taxes that gave offense, but taxes imposed *at the wrong end of the line.* It was not parliamentary authority that maddened, but government without the consent of the governed.

The revolution was a battle where

> "English law and English thought
> 'Gainst the self-will of England fought."

"The king and the parliament," as one has said, "were the Revolutionists, not our fathers." They were the true heirs of Simon de Montfort, who laid the foundations of the House of Commons, and of the archbishop, Stephen Langton, who headed the barons at Runnymede. —*Dr. John Henry Barrows.*

INTEGRITY.

Integrity was not uncommon during our Revolution, but in Samuel Adams it was proverbial. He might

have declared at any time, without fear of contradiction, with Cardinal de Retz:

"In the most difficult times of the Republic I never deserted the State; in her most prosperous fortune I never tasted of her sweets; in her most desperate circumstances I knew not fear."

ADAMS AS A PUBLIC SPEAKER.

As an orator, Samuel Adams was peculiarly fitted for the times in which he had fallen. His eloquence was characteristic of its author, full of massive simplicity and pungent common sense.

He moved much among the masses of mankind, and knew how to sway their thoughts. This Apostle of Liberty, like the heralds of salvation, began first to preach to the common people, and ultimately attained an influence that made despots tremble on their thrones.

One great secret of the power of his popular address, probably lay in the unity of his purpose and the energy of his pursuit.

He passionately loved freedom, and subordinated everything to its attainment. This kind of inspiration is a necessary pre-requisite to eminent success.

Samuel Adams had more logic in his composition than rhetoric, and was accustomed to convince the judgment rather than inflame the passions; and yet, when the occasion demanded, he could give vent to the ardent and patriotic indignation of which his heart was often full.

Whenever he arose to address a popular assembly, every murmur was hushed at the first flash of that

"sparkling eye beneath a veteran brow." Expectation was on tip-toe for something weighty from his lips, and was seldom disappointed.

"Eloquence," said Bolingbroke, "must flow like a stream that is fed by an abundant spring, and not spout

Revolutionary Soldiers' Monument, Lexington, Mass.

forth a little frothy water on some gaudy day, and remain dry the rest of the year."—*Magoon*, "*Orators of the Revolution.*"

Dr. Barrows says: "Samuel Adams wielded a sinewy logic which reminds us both of Junius and of Webster. A Tory wit lampooned him as a sachem of vast elocu-

tion, 'the words of whose mouth were sufficient to fill the mouths of millions in America.' "

The encomium which Ben Jonson pronounced on Lord Bacon's speaking may be justly applied to Samuel Adams: "There happened in my time one noble speaker who was full of gravity in his speech. His language was nobly censorious.

"No man ever spoke more neatly, more freely, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his own graces.

"His hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss. He commanded when he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion.

"No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was, lest he should make an end."

KNOWLEDGE OF HUMAN NATURE.

A marked peculiarity of Samuel Adams was his profound and accurate acquaintance with the nature of man. He had studied its secret springs, and could move them at pleasure.

He knew that the human heart is like the earth. "You may sow it, and plant it, and build upon it in all manner of forms; but the earth, however cultivated by man, continues none the less spontaneously to produce its verdures, its wild flowers, and all varieties of natural fruits."

The identity of this planet on which we live is not

more perpetual than that of human nature. Its latent impulses we must know. Its spontaneous productions we must learn to employ, if we would toil among mankind with success.

RULING PASSION AND AIM.

The love of justice was his ruling passion; it was the main-spring of all his conduct. He made it a matter of conscience to discharge every duty with scrupulous fidelity and scrupulous zeal.

The freedom and prosperity of his country; the union of all her sons in a common and national fraternity; and the advancement of moral truth, harmony and virtue, were the grand objects of his unremitted pursuit.

HOPEFULNESS AND PIETY.

During the most gloomy period of our national struggle, when others were desponding, he always kept up cheerful spirits, gently rebuked the fears of others, and expressing his unwavering reliance upon the protection of an overruling Providence, who, he had felt assured from the first would conduct the country through all its trials to deliverance and prosperous repose.

As a patriot, he toiled incessantly, without complaint; as a religious man, he trusted in God, and was not confounded.

DETERMINATION.

When Mr. Galloway and some of his timid adherents were for entering their protest in Congress against an open rupture with Britain, Samuel Adams, rising slowly

from his seat, said: "I should advise persisting in our struggle for liberty, though it were revealed from heaven that *nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish*, and only *one* freeman of a thousand survive and retain his liberty.

"That one freeman must possess more virtue and enjoy more happiness than a thousand slaves. Let him propagate his like, and transmit to them what he had so nobly preserved."

THE POWER BEHIND THE THRONE.

Plain, quiet, indigent, sagacious, patriotic old Puritan, as he was, now melting his stern soul into unwonted tears of joy, and pacing the "Common" with exulting step, because that morning he had won that chivalrous young aristocrat, John Hancock, to the defense of the popular cause; and now glancing, with a sly twinkle in his eye, at fiery resolutions pendant from the "Tree of Liberty," purporting to have been produced by the serene goddess herself, and which, he well knows, first saw the light by his solitary lamp; and, anon, ensconced behind the deacon's seat in "Old South," with an immense throng crowding the double galleries to the very ceiling, he stealthily passes up a pungent resolution, which kindles some more excitable mouth-piece, and finally inflames the heaving and swelling mass with spontaneous cries, "*Boston harbor a tea-pot to-night*"—why, he was, indeed, a power behind the throne; greater than the throne, he ruled the winds that moved the waves.—*Magoon*, "*Orators of the Revolution.*"

AN EBULLITION OF LOYALTY.

Before his father's death and his assumption of the paternal business of brewing and malting, young Adams was an accountant for a short time in the house of Thomas Cushing, whose son, of the same name, was in after years speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, of which Samuel Adams was clerk. Thus the elder Cushing and the elder Adams were fellow merchants and actors in the stirring times when, by pitting themselves against the valor of French soldiers, the colonists were commencing to learn their own strength, while the two sons were leaders in the era when that same strength and fertility of resource were pitted against the mother country. The elder Adams, as one of the most successful business men of his day, was the advocate of a popular currency which Great Britain could not control and, although a staunch upholder of the mother country against France, was, at the same time, keenly alive to the material interests of Massachusetts and the Colonists in general. It was in his character as a popular leader that the son desired to emulate the father, and both the elder Cushing and the elder Adams early gave him up as a commercial subject. As has been stated, when he took his Master's degree at Cambridge, then being just of age, he had enunciated, in his graduating thesis, the right of resistance to preserve the life of the commonwealth. It may be that the bitter fight led by his father against the Tories, who finally succeeded in destroying the home currency put forth by the Land Bank Scheme, had something to do with the rebellious attitude assumed by the young collegiate. It is perhaps more probable that the essay was

a temporary ebullition of bold general sentiment, and that Samuel Adams did not then have even a dim vision of physical resistance to King George. At all events, several years thereafter he and some of his political friends formed a club for the discussion of public affairs, by debate and in the columns of the newly established "Public Advertiser," and Samuel Adams, putting forth a rather heavy essay on "Loyalty and Sedition," writes:

"It has been a question much controverted in the world what form of government is best and in what system liberty is best consulted and preserved. I cannot say that I am wholly free from that prejudice which generally possesses men in favor of their own country and the manners they have been used to from their infancy. But I must declare for my own part, that there is no form of civil government, which I have ever heard of, appears to me so well calculated to preserve this blessing, or to secure to its subjects all the most valuable advantages of civil society, as the English. For in none that I have ever met with is the power of the governors and the rights of the governed more nicely adjusted, or the power which is necessary in the very nature of government to be intrusted in the hands of some, by wiser checks prevented from growing exorbitant. * * *

"From this happy constitution of our mother country, ours in this is copied or rather improved upon. Our invaluable charter secures to us all the English liberties, besides which we have some additional privileges which the common people there have not. Our fathers had so severely felt the effects of tyranny and the weight of the bishop's

yoke, that they underwent the greatest difficulties and toils to secure to themselves and transmit to their posterity those invaluable blessings; and we, their posterity, are this day reaping the fruits of their toils. Happy beyond expression! —in the form of our government, in the liberty we enjoy— if we know our own happiness and how to improve it."

The balance of the peroration was devoted to a plea for virtue without which constitutional government and the liberties enjoyed under it were mockeries.

MORE ABOUT COPLEY'S PORTRAIT.

Reference has been made to the portrait of Samuel Adams which is the frontispiece of this sketch. Copley, a famous portrait painter of the early revolutionary times, attended the investigation of the massacre by the civil authorities and testified against the soldiers. The bearing of Mr. Adams in the subsequent movements of the patriots intensified the artist's admiration for the leader, which, in part, may account for the strength and animation of the portrait. Prof. Hosmer, whose great-great-grandfather was an assemblyman and staunch supporter of Adams, while the latter was warring against Hutchinson and the British regiments, thus describes the likeness: "For this portrait he has chosen to give Samuel Adams as he stood in the scene with Hutchinson in the council chamber. Against a background suggestive of gloom and disturbance, the figure looks forth. The face and form are marked by great strength. The brow is high and broad and from it sweeps back the abundant hair, streaked with gray. The blue eyes are full of light and force, the nose is prominent, the lips and chin,

brought strongly out as the head is thrown somewhat back, are full of determination. In the right hand a scroll is held firmly grasped, the energy of the moment appearing in the cording of the sinews as the sheets bend in the pressure. The left hand is thrown forth in impassioned gesture, the forefinger pointing to the provincial charter, which, with the great seal affixed, lies half unrolled in the foreground. The plain dark red attire announces a decent and simple respectability. The well-knit figure looks as fixed as if its strength came from the granite on which the Adamses planted themselves when they came to America; the countenance speaks in every line the man."

ONE COOL PATRIOT.

Naturally during the progress of the shooting affray which history designates as the Boston Massacre, the citizens were generally in a state of wild excitement. When a crowd is thus fired upon, it seldom happens that the real participants are those who suffer most. So of the three who were killed in the Boston Massacre only one, the mulatto Attucks, appears to have taken any part in the attack on the soldiery.

The one cool patriot when the firing commenced, was standing in his own doorway at the corner of King and Congress streets. To him the result of the British volley was too balls in the arm. Turning slowly to the group of friends who were with him he is said to have placidly remarked, "I declare, I do think these soldiers ought to be talked to."

With other good citizens he doubtless had confidence in the talking abilities of Sam Adams, and subsequent events proved that the British soldiers and their captain were not only arrested but were talked to through Father Adams.

WHAT ADAMS SAID AT LEXINGTON.

After the adjournment of Congress, on April 15, 1775, Samuel Adams, with his moneyed, bold, and aristocratic friend of the historic signature, went to the house of Rev. Jonas Clark, at Lexington. Messrs. Adams and Hancock, as the most dangerous of the rebels, were to be apprehended and sent to England to be tried for treason. At this time General Gage had two main objects in view—to seize the Concord stores of ammunition waiting for the minute men and to capture these fire-brands of men.

At midnight of the 18th Paul Revere, having barely eluded the British regulars at Boston, dashed up to Mr. Clark's house and requested the sergeant of the eighth, men who were guarding Adams and Hancock, to admit him.

Revere was finally admitted and within about an hour the militia were mustered on the meeting-house green and scouts sent out to learn about the regulars under Major Pitcairn. In the presence of Adams, Hancock, and Rev. Mr. Clark the muskets of the embattled farmers were loaded with powder and ball.

By sunrise the continentals had stood their ground at Lexington until the enemy "had been put in the wrong," according to Adams' statesmanlike advice, by firing upon them first; a score of American martyrs offering themselves as a sacrifice to the wisdom of that principle.

As the victorious regulars advanced toward Mr. Clark's house, Adams and Hancock retired through the sunny glistening fields toward Woburn, an adjacent village.

"This is a fine day!" Adams exclaimed to one of his companions.

"Very pleasant, indeed," was the answer.

"I mean," replied the patriot, "This day is a glorious day for America!"

And throughout the uncertainties and calamities of the succeeding years Samuel Adams never lost faith in the truth of that outburst. The story has been often told, but usually the patriotic portion of the conversation is solely given, the commonplace preliminary marks being omitted.

THEY HOPED AGAINST HOPE.

While preparations were being made through the Committee of Correspondence, of which Adams was secretary, for the selection of delegates to a continental congress, Governor and General Gage appointed Salem, instead of Boston, as the meeting place of the General Court, or legislature. The Hub, according to Gage and the Tories, was the central hot-bed of all that was bad, and as the King had open designs against the person of Adams, the hottest hot-head of all the Bostonians, and now the popular idol, it was deemed suspicious by the Whigs that the assembly should be prorogued to meet at Salem. The date was June 7, and Adams, who had been unusually busy with affairs of the Committee of Safety, was late in arriving.

"He is afraid to trust himself outside of Boston," whispered the Tories.

"He has been seized by Gage's troops," murmured the Whigs.

It was upon this occasion that the gold-laced Tory seated himself in the chair reserved for Adams, the secretary, and was so unceremoniously ejected by the sarcasm of the patriot. Certain it was that upon that particular occasion his absence would have been more pleasant than his company.

ADAMS AND THE TEA-PARTY.

The events leading up to the meeting in the Old South Church, when Samuel Adams gave the signal for the destruction of the proscribed tea in Boston Harbor, were dominated by the subject of this sketch. He is supposed to have prepared the placard inviting the public of Boston and neighboring town to be present November 3, 1773, at Liberty Tree, to witness the oath of the consignee to reship their tea to London, the manifesto ending, "Show me the man that dares take this down." Adams, Hancock, and others were there, but the tea merchants were elsewhere. A favorite meeting place for informal conference was the printing office of Edes & Gill on Court street and a room over it. The town-meeting and the Man of the Town Meeting demanded more and more strenuously with the approach of the three tea-ships to Boston Harbor that the consignees resign, but without effect. Then the Committee of Correspondence, embracing what were then Boston and the adjoining towns, dispatched to the Whig leaders throughout the province their joint pledge to resist the landing of the hated stuff. The letter was written by Mr. Adams, his style

being seen in such as this: "We think, gentlemen, that we are in duty bound to use our most strenuous endeavors to ward off the impending evil, and we are sure that upon a fair and cool inquiry into the nature and tendency of the ministerial plan, you will think this tea now coming to us more to be dreaded than plague and pestilence."

"The first of the three ships loaded with tea arrived November 28. It was the "Dartmouth," Captain Hall, and its Quaker owner was induced not to enter the vessel until the 30th. On the afternoon of the preceding day a grand meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, at which Samuel Adams moved: "As the town have determined at a late meeting legally assembled that they will to the utmost of their power prevent the landing of the tea, the question be now put—whether this body are absolutely determined that the tea now arrived in Captain Hall shall be returned to the place whence it came."

By the time the motion was unanimously carried, the crowd had reached such proportions that, in order to accommodate it, an adjournment was effected to Old South Church. There Mr. Adams' motion was again carried, and the following question was then put and unanimously answered in the affirmative: "Is it the firm resolution of this body that the tea shall not only be sent back, but that no duty shall be paid thereon?"

It was at this point that Young, one of the committee appointed under the call of the meeting "for the purpose of consulting, advising and determining upon the most proper and effectual method to prevent the unloading, receiving,

or vending of the detestable tea" claimed that "the only way to get rid of it was to throw it overboard."

Copley, the artist who painted the portraits of Adams and Hancock, was the son-in-law of Robert Clarke, one of the richest and most prominent of the tea-merchants. Within the following two weeks which preceded the arrival of the other tea-ships and the carrying out of Young's suggestion, Copley essayed the role of mediator, but with what success all now know.

ADAMS-OTIS SET-TO.

Massachusetts took the lead in uniting the Colonies by the famous circular letter which proposed a general course of action in opposing oppressive measures of royalty. Although on the face of it, the movement was a simple effort at joint petition, the mother country saw the danger to her supremacy in any form of Colonial union. The governor was directed to order the assembly to rescind the letter and the British ship "Romley," from Halifax, soon appeared in Boston Harbor to give emphasis to his demand. The assembly through its spokesmen, Adams and Otis, emphatically refused to rescind the letter, demanding at the same time that the British ship should be removed from Boston Harbor and the British governor from Massachusetts soil. Adams and Otis were named as the arch-rebels in the gubernatorial letters of those days dispatched to the Colonial Secretary, just as, at a later date, Adams and Hancock were held up as the prime conspirators.

Governor Bernard had no more love for Adams and Otis, at this time, than had Governor Gage for Adams and Hancock at a later date; and Hillsborough, the Colonial Secre-

tary in far-away London, held no easy office as the buffer for these warring factions.

Doubtless, also, Adams and Otis had their quarrels, the latter being a man of both brilliant and fiery parts. It is known that they disagreed over such large measures as the proposed policy of Colonial representation in the imperial parliament and in all probability they quarrelled over small matters also.

Although Governor Bernard cannot be considered an unbiased testifier, he relates that the two rebels had a smart set-to about the publication of the letter to Lord Hillsborough, which, written by Samuel Adams and approved by the assembly, had been sent on to the Colonial office without being submitted to the Governor. Its contents were known to the Whig assembly, but not to the Tories or to the public at large, and before the document reached London its author determined (with the assembly prorogued by the governor and the British warship still in Boston harbor) that it was time to let the world know what the letter to Hillsborough contained.

On this point of disagreement between Otis and Adams, Governor Bernard writes to Lord Hillsborough:

"I informed your Lordship that I had not seen, nor probably should see, till it is printed, the letter of the House to your Lordship, although I am informed that I am much interested in the contents of it. But I shall soon have that satisfaction, being informed it is to be printed next Monday.

"It seems that this morning the two consuls of the faction —Otis and Adams—had a dispute upon it in the Represen-

tatives' room where the papers of the House are kept, which I shall write as a dialogue to save paper:

"Otis—What are you going to do with the letter to Lord Hillsborough?"

"Adams—To give it to the printer to publish next Monday."

"Otis—Do you think it proper to publish it so soon, that he may receive a printed copy before the original comes to his hand?"

"Adams—What signifies that? You know it was designed for the people and not for the minister."

"Otis—You are so fond of your own drafts that you can't wait for the publication of them to a proper time."

"Adams—I am clerk of this House and I will make that use of the papers which I please."

"I had this," continues the Governor, "from a gentleman of the first rank, who I understand was present."

It may be added that the letter referred to was published in the *Boston Gazette* of July 18, 1768. It was a forcible defense of the Circular Letter, based simply on the right of petition—an established right of all Englishmen—and concluded as follows: "And the House humbly rely on the royal clemency that to petition his Majesty will not be deemed by him to be inconsistent with a respect to the British Constitution, as settled at the Revolution by William the Third; that to acquaint their fellow-subjects, involved in the same distress, of their having so done, in full hopes of success, even if they had invited the union of all America in one joint supplication, would not be discountenanced by

our glorious sovereign as a measure of an inflammatory nature."

ADAMS AND SLAVERY.

Several years before the town of Boston, through its representatives in the assembly, recommended the total abolition of slavery in the province of Massachusetts (1776), a female slave named "Surry" was given to Mrs. Adams.

When she acquainted her husband of the fact he at once said: "A slave cannot live in my house. If she comes, she must be free."

"Surry" accordingly came into the family of Samuel Adams, but as a free woman. There she lived under the kindest of treatment for nearly fifty years. She in turn rendered the most affectionate service to every member of the family. When slavery was formally abolished in the State, the usual papers, provided by law, were made out for her to sign. These, however, she indignantly threw into the fire, considering the proposed proceeding a reflection on the good faith of Mr. Adams, who personally had set her free many years before, and remarking with spirit that she had lived too long to be thus trifled with. During her voluntary service of nearly half a century in the family of Mr. Adams, "Surry" never left Boston but twice. Her first departure was when the British troops occupied the city, and her second, during the gubernatorial administration of Mr. Adams when small-pox was epidemic in the town.

The main facts of the above story are upon the testimony of a niece of Mr. Adams, who was a little girl when "Surry" was freed, and the gentleman who communicated it justly remarks: "It serves to show the unity of Samuel Adams'

character and that the love of liberty, for which he strove so early and with so much zeal and constancy, was *at home* with him and indeed a part of his very being."

ETERNAL VIGILANCE, ETC., ETC.

No man in America could more heartily subscribe to the sentiment that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" than Samuel Adams, and no measure tending to uphold it so taxed his resources as the maintenance of the non-importation agreements. If the merchants had been all Whigs his would have been a fair-weather course, but many of them, notably the son of ex-Governor Bernard and the sons of Governor Hutchinson, were Tories.

There were also several obstinate Scotchmen who gave him not a little trouble. One of them, John Mein, was publisher of the "Chronicle" as well as a large importer of the best books of the day. He was the founder of circulating libraries in London and an enterprising and intelligent merchant. But notwithstanding the intelligent portion of the community appreciated the good points of Merchant Mein his persistent violation of the general pact among the patriots, coupled with the ridicule which he cast at them through the columns of his newspaper, eventually worked his exile from America. At length he became so obnoxious that he was assaulted by a crowd upon the street, fired a pistol among them and driven to the protection of the British troops. Soon afterwards he escaped in disguise to England.

Another of his countrymen, through the persuasive tactics of Mr. Adams, gracefully yielded to the logic of events

and doubtless had his reward—though history saith not. He had also stubbornly refused to be a party to the non-importation agreement, holding that his importing business was his own concern and that he would do with it as he chose. How the little man with a reddish, smoke-dried wig and a squeaking voice was brought into the non-importation agreement through the ingenuity of Mr. Adams is elsewhere told under the head of "Samuel Adams and the Scotchman."

ADAMS WROTE THE ROYAL PETITION.

In 1768 Samuel Adams dispatched a series of remarkable petitions to the King of England and members of his ministry, setting forth the grievances under which the Colonists suffered, but sending forth no seditious whisper or desire for independence. Some have claimed the authorship for Otis, although the clear-cut style and moderate sentiments all point to Adams.

Definite testimony on this point has been given by Mrs. Hannah Wells, daughter of Samuel Adams, who once said that she remembered the time when her father was busy with the actual composition of the petition to the King. It was impressed upon her mind because one day, as a little girl, she said to him in an awe-struck voice that the very paper he was writing would soon be touched with the royal hand.

"It will, my dear," he replied, "more likely be spurned by the royal foot."

But whatever value or interest the story may have, to be historically accurate it must be stated that neither the royal

hand nor foot had the opportunity to spurn the petition, since it was never officially presented.

THE AMERICAN FISHER OF MEN.

President John Adams was one of the many brilliant stars collected by the perseverance and genius of Samuel Adams into the galaxy of American patriots. In fact, to the other appellations of the latter Adams may aptly be added "The American Fisher of Men." In 1765 he drew into his net, the young but rising lawyer of Braintree, his cousin, John Adams. As chairman of the committee to present a memorial to the Governor for the opening of the provincial courts and to protect against the general paralysis of public and business life because of the Stamp Act, he appointed the future president of the United States as one of the three counsel to legally uphold the memorial mentioned. This was really John Adams' entry into public life, as Samuel Adams intended that it should be. The young lawyer was thirteen years the junior of the American Fisher of Men and long afterwards wrote as follows: "Samuel Adams, to my certain knowledge, from 1758 to 1775, that is for seventeen years, made it his constant rule to watch the rise of every brilliant genius, to seek his acquaintance, to court his friendship, to cultivate his natural feelings in favor of his native country, to warn him against the hostile designs of Great Britain, and to fix his affections and reflections on the side of his native country. I could enumerate a list, but I will confine myself to a few. John Hancock, afterwards President of the Congress and Governor of the State; Dr. Joseph Warren, afterward Major-General of the militia

of Massachusetts and the martyr of Bunker Hill; Benjamin Church, the poet and the orator, once a pretended if not a real patriot, but afterwards a monument to the frailty of human nature; Josiah Quincy, the Boston Cicero and great orator of the body meetings."

John Adams has this also to say about the club to which, or to its successor, he was soon introduced by his kinsman: "The Caucus Club meets at certain times in the garret of Tom Dawes, the adjutant of the Boston regiment. He has a large house and a movable partition in his garret, which he takes down, and the whole club meets in one room. There they smoke tobacco till you cannot see from one end of the garret to the other. There they drink flip, I suppose, and there they choose a moderator who puts questions to the vote regularly; and selectmen, assessors, collectors, wardens, fire-ward, and representatives are regularly chosen before they are chosen in the town. They send committees to wait on the Merchant's Club and to propose and join in the choice of men and measures."

The scope of the club's activities was afterwards broadened so as to embrace the general colonial affairs which agitated the country, and which its members had no small share in agitating. The membership was also increased so as to include not only John Adams, but Hancock, Cushing, Otis and other solid and brilliant patriots. The meetings were held more openly, sometimes in the parlor of Mr. Samuel Shed, a respectable Milk street grocer.

John Adams again places the club members before us, saying of Samuel, its guiding spirit: "Adams, I believe, has the most thorough understanding of liberty and her re-

sources in the temper and character of the people, though not in the law and the constitution; as well as the most habitual, radical love of it of any of them, as well as the most correct, general and artful pen. He is a man of refined policy, steadfast integrity, exquisite humanity, genteel erudition, obliging, engaging manners, real as well as professed piety, and a universal good character, unless it should be admitted that he is too attentive to the public and not enough so to himself and his family."

This club was from all accounts one of the most catching drag-nets for men who were useful to the cause of independence, which Sam. Adams ever put out.

WORDS OF THE INSPIRING PROPHET.

Not one of the great men who witnessed the gradual disruption of the States from the mother country was so confident from the first that the divorce would finally be complete as Samuel Adams, and not one—not even Washington himself—was more undaunted in spirit after the beginning of histilities. Adams did for the statesmen of the country, for the public men and public sentiment, what Washington did for the soldiers actually in the field—sustained them with his own unconquerable spirit through every period of natural depression and gloom.

The year following the Declaration of Independence was especially dark. Congress itself, with no safe abiding place, had been reduced to twenty-eight members and had resolved to adjourn to Lancaster, Pa. Some of the leaders accidentally met, however, and it is needless to say that their general facial hue was dark and their aspect had far more

length than breadth. Samuel Adams, however, was bright and cheerful. Despite the gloomy outlook, despite the lugubrious views expressed then and there by his several colleagues, he was still ready to shout that Lexington was a glorious day! He listened patiently to the dark bitter end and then said: "Gentlemen, your spirits appear to be heavily oppressed with our public calamities. I hope you do not despair of our final success?"

The burden of the answer was that "the chance was desperate."

Mr. Adams replied: "If this be our language, it is so, indeed. If we wear long faces, they will become fashionable. The people take their tone from ours, and if we despair can it be expected that they will continue their efforts in what we conceive to be a hopeless case? Let us banish such feelings and show a spirit that will keep alive the confidence of the people, rather than damp their courage. Better tidings will soon arrive. Our cause is just, and we shall never be abandoned by Heaven while we show ourselves worthy of its aid and protection."

These words have the ring of a man who feels that a just cause places a leader, by the favor of God, above the natural depression of the average mortal. They also have the grand ring of the prophet and were thus deeply treasured by the friends of the sturdy patriot, when a few days after they were uttered better tidings did arrive in the news from Saratoga.

ADAMS' TREASON SWORN TO.

"Torn with conflicting emotions"—Adams' newspaper writings, his public speeches and petitions to royal governors,

royal ministers and royalty itself prove that he was thus sadly afflicted, and that during the few years preceding and following the Boston Massacre he was mentally on the rack. As events of usurpation transpired, his attitude toward the mother country changed, and the modern stickler for political consistency would have an easy time shredding the reputation of Samuel Adams. In the heat of private discourse the best of earnest men often word their sentiments in forms which they would not care to have electrotyped abroad. Governor Bernard was diligent in collecting all of these chance words which could injure Adams and in promptly dispatching them to the colonial office in London.

One of these gubernatorial collections is in the form of an affidavit, sworn to by a Boston tavern keeper, Richard Sylvester, and taken before Chief Justice, afterward Governor Hutchinson. The Stamp Act had been repealed, but the relief measure had been followed within the year by the external duty on tea and other articles. Through the famous Circular Letter of Adams the union of the Colonies was threatened and British troops were on the way from Halifax to awe the Bostoneers into withdrawing all her measures of opposition to the royal decrees.

The tavern keeper says that upon one occasion during this critical period he observed a crowd of men in the street at the south end of the town. About the same time Mr. Adams joined the gathering "trembling and in great agitation," and the informant heard him exclaim: "If you are men, behave like men! Let us take up arms immediately and be free, and seize all the King's officers. We shall have thirty thousand men to join us from the country." The tale-bearer

adds that he then walked off, "believing his company disagreeable."

Upon another occasion, before the arrival of the troops while Mr. Adams was at the tavern of the informant, he is said to have delivered himself of the following: "We will not submit to any tax nor become slaves. We will take up arms and spend our last drop of blood before the King and Parliament shall impose on us and settle crown officers in this country to dragoon us. The country was first settled by our ancesters; therefore we are free and want no King. The times were never better in Rome than when they had no king and were a free state; and as this is a great empire we shall have it in our power to give laws to England."

At other times before the arrival of the troops, not only the inn-keeper himself, but his wife and the painter, George Mason, had heard Mr. Adams make such remarks. Especially about a fortnight before the soldiers came the informant had asked Adams what he thought of the times and the latter had answered, with great alertness, that, on lighting the beacon, "we should be joined by thirty thousand men from the country, with their knapsacks and fixed bayonets," and added: "We will destroy every soldier that dare put his foot on shore. His Majesty had no right to send troops here to invade the country, and I look upon them as foreign enemies!"

Again two or three days before the troops arrived Mr. Adams had said to the informant that Governor Bernard, Mr. Hutchinson and the Commissioners of the Customs had sent for the military force and repeated the same bitter lan-

guage against opposing the King's soldiers. The tavern keeper contradicted Mr. Adams and attributed the sending of the troops to the resolve of the General Court and the proceedings of the town meeeting.

ADAMS AND HIS HOUSEHOLD.

The family estate left to Samuel Adams through the death of his father, in 1748, consisted of a good dwelling house and several outbuildings (including an old and disused malt-house) and a fine orchard and garden. On one of the front door steps were cut the letters S. A. and M. F., the latter standing for Mary Fifield, his mother. It is said the initials were cut there in 1713, the year of the marriage of Samuel Adams the elder, and were not obliterated by wear until at least a century thereafter.

At the time of the Revolutionary war the household of the second Samuel Adams consited of his good wife and helpmate—she who made it possible for him to devote himself with such a single head and heart to public affairs; his daughter Hannah, about twenty years of age, and his son, Samuel, five years her senior. There were also Surry, the freed negro woman and devoted servant; a boy who made himself generally useful, and whom Mr. Adams was educating, and last, but far from least, a tremendous Newfoundland dog named "Queue," to whom the sight of a redcoat was more infuriating than a red rag to a bull, and who lived to bear the scars of many wounds inflicted by British clubs and bullets. The son mentioned had received an education at Harvard, through his father, and a professional training through his father's friend and family physician,

the brilliant and brave Dr. Joseph Warren. Young Adams entered practice, became a surgeon in the Revolutionary War and died as the result of exposure and disease while in the service of his country.

Here in the family homestead Mr. Adams passed a life of simple activity, burning the midnight oil for many years in the preparation of that ante-Revolutionary literature which did so much to give birth to the United States of America. Here also he daily said grace at his simple meals or led in the nightly Bible readings. The house was, further, a favorite resort for young people, for whom Mr. Adams always had the kindest of words springing from the most spontaneous sympathy. When with the young, in fact, whether his own or other children, he entered into their feelings more as a champion than an elder. His home life was another proof added to the mass of testimony deduced from the lives of men whose stern bravery is based on principle—namely, that beneath the apparent hardness of the surface there is always a warm mellow subsoil of sympathy, tenderness, and love.

JOHN RANDOLPH'S TRIBUTE TO ADAMS.

It is fitting here to make the record that it was John Randolph, the meteoric, brilliant, erratic, and disease-racked statesman, who brought the death of Samuel Adams formally before Congress. He was then thirty years of age and Adams had just passed away at the age of eighty-one.

Mr. Randolph said in part: "It cannot indeed but be a matter of deep regret that one of the first statesmen of our country has descended to the grave full of years and full of

honors; that his character and fame are put beyond th reach of that time and chance to which everything mortal i exposed. But it becomes this House to cherish a sentimen of veneration for such men, since such men are rare, and t keep alive the spirit to which we owe the constitution unde which we are now deliberating.

"This great man, the associate of Hancock, shared wit him the honor of being proscribed by a flagitious Ministr whose object was to triumph over the liberties of their coun try by trampling on those of her Colonies. With his grea compatriot, he made an early and decided stand agains British encroachment, whilst souls more timid were trem bling and irresolute. It is the glorious privilege of minds o this stamp to give an example to a people and fix the destin of nations."

A RECORD OF "THANKS."

The papers of Samuel Adams' day contained many political satires, directed at different parties, according to the political bias of the papers, usually personal, often disrespectful, even irreverent, sometimes witty, but generally finding their point in local fitness and the relish which personality always gives to newspaper squibs. In Rivington's Royal "*Gazette*," on the occasion of a day of general thanksgiving being appointed by the Massachusetts Congress, appeared the following:

"THANKS UPON THANKS.

("A Grace for the Port of Boston.)

"Thanks to Hancock for thanksgiving:
Thanks to God for our good living:
Thanks to Gage for hindering evil:
And for source of discord civil,
Thanks to Adams and the devil."

NO FAITH IN THE KING.

Whatever may have been the private views of Mr. Adams with regard to the ultimate future and independence of the colonies, no one can read the letters and petitions to the government, framed and many of them penned by Samuel Adams, up to 1769, and fail to observe and admire the clearness and moderation with which the grievances are stated, as well as the firmness with which their rights are asserted.

Yet an incident related by Mrs. Hannah Wells, Mr. Adams' daughter, shows how little faith he himself had in the mercy or justice of the king.

The young girl remarked, as she glanced over the pe-

tition to the king, "That paper will soon be touched by the royal hand." Her father quickly replied, "It will, my dear, more likely be spurned by the royal foot."

SAMUEL ADAMS AND THE SCOTCHMAN.

As an instance of Samuel Adams' skill in dealing with mankind, an anecdote related by his daughter is worth noting. At a meeting of the Assembly, where over two thousand persons were present, a committee reported that one Mr. Mac————, a stubborn Scotchman and a large importer, had refused to come into the non-importation association. An angry spirit was manifesting itself, when Mr. Adams, with that *suaviter in modo* which always distinguished him, arose and moved that the Assembly resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, wait on Mr. Mac————, and urge his compliance. This was met by an affirmative, and, the business of the day proceeding, when suddenly from an obscure corner, not relishing such a possibly massive argument, came a squeaking voice in a Scotch accent, "Mr. Moderator, I agree! I agree!" This unexpected interruption from the diminutive, grotesque figure, in a reddish smoke-dried wig, drew all eyes upon him. His sudden conversion, and the manner in which it was obtained, brought thunders of applause.

Mr. Adams, with a polite, condescending bow of protection, pointed to a seat near by, and quieted the discreet and frightened Scotchman.

LIBERTY TREE AND LIBERTY HALL.

Lafayette said, when in Boston, "The world should

never forget the spot where once stood Liberty Tree, so famous in your annals." The open space at the four corners of Washington, Essex and Boylston Streets, was once known as Hanover Square, from the royal house of Hanover, and sometimes as the Elm Neighborhood, from the magnificent elms with which it was environed. It was one of the finest of these that obtained the name of Liberty Tree, from its being used on the first occasion of resistance to the obnoxious Stamp Act.

At daybreak on the 14th of August, 1765, nearly ten years before active hostilities broke out, an effigy of Mr. Oliver, the Stamp officer, and a boot, with the devil peeping out of it—an allusion to Lord Bute—was discovered hanging from Liberty Tree. The images remained hanging all day, and were visited by great numbers of people, both from the town and the neighboring country. Business was almost suspended. Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson ordered the sheriff to take the figures down, but he was obliged to admit that he dared not do so.

As the day closed the effigies were taken down, placed upon a bier, and, followed by several thousand people of every class and condition, were borne through the city and then burned, after which much riotous conduct on the part of the crowd occurred.

In 1766, when the repeal of the Stamp Act took place, a large copper plate was fastened to the tree, inscribed in golden characters: "This tree was planted in the year 1646; and pruned by order of the Sons of Liberty, Feb.

14th, 1766.' The ground immediately about Liberty Tree was popularly known as Liberty Hall.

In August, 1767, a flagstaff had been erected, which went through and extended above its highest branches. A flag hoisted upon this staff was the signal for the assembling of the Sons of Liberty. . . . . In August, 1775, the name of Liberty having become offensive to the Tories and their British Allies, the tree was cut down by a party led by one Job Williams.—*S. A. Drake*, "*Old Landmarks of Boston*," *ch. 14*.

CONTINENTAL MONEY.

Samuel Adams, with one of his colleagues, occupied the commonest lodgings in Philadelphia, and lived in the most frugal style.

The value of the Continental money may be inferred from a letter to Mrs. Adams early in 1779, which says:

"I was asked four hundred dollars for a hat, three hundred for a pair of leather breeches, one hundred and twenty-five for a pair of shoes, and a suit of clothes sixteen hundred."

PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL ADAMS.

The question was asked, "Who will paint Samuel Adams at the head of ten thousand freemen and volunteers, with his quivering, paralytic hands, in the council chamber, shaking the souls of Hutchinson and Dalrymple, and driving down to the Castle the two offending regiments, which Lord North ever afterwards called Sam Adams' regiments."

This is the very moment John Singleton Copley has seized to paint the portrait of Adams for John Hancock, which now hangs in Faneuil Hall. The engraving from this painting is published as a frontispiece to this sketch.

Paul Revere's House, Watertown, Mass.
First Continental Notes were Printed Here by Paul Revere.

A STORY OF SAMUEL AND JOHN ADAMS.

History hardly furnishes an example of a man so completely lost to self and the natural desire, common to all, of improving their pecuniary condition. He was so regardless of wealth or the means of attaining it, that those about him censured him for it. His friend, John Adams, repeatedly alludes to this singular disregard of riches, a trait, by the way, in which Samuel Adams was a

source of curious wonder to his more thrifty kinsman. One day in June, in the next year, when a serene summer sky spanned a landscape in which waving fields and rustling orchards formed to some extent, as now, the pleasant scenery about New England's capital, the two friends rode out together in a chaise, and conversed of their personal affairs.

They often called each other "brother," and the relationship implied was in after years supposed to exist in reality.

"My brother, Samuel Adams," thus the lawyer and patriot wrote that day in his diary, "says he never looked forward in his life; never planned, laid a scheme, or formed a design of laying up anything for himself or others after him.

"I told him I could not say that of myself; 'if that had been true of me, you would never have seen my face.' And I think this was true.

"I was necessitated to ponder in my youth, to consider of ways and means of raising a subsistence, food and raiment, and books and money to pay for my education to the bar. So that I must have sunk into total contempt and obscurity, if not perished for want, if I had not planned for futurity.

"And it is no damage to a young man to learn the art of living early, if it is at the expense of much musing, and pondering, and anxiety."

LITTLE ELIZABETH ROLFE AND THE INDIANS.

The mother of Miss Elizabeth Checkley, the first wife

of Samuel Adams, was the daughter of the Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, of Haverhill, Massachusetts. A great Indian massacre took place in this village in the early New England days.

The inhabitants were surprised by the attack of their savage foes. More than a hundred men, women and children were tomahawked by their merciless foes.

The father of little Elizabeth was killed while defending his home. Elizabeth and her young sister would have shared his fate had it not been for the ready wit of a maid servant.

When the alarm was given she rushed down into the cellar with the two children, took an empty tub that was standing there, put it in a corner, then charging them on their lives not to make the least noise, turned it over them. And although the Indians went through the house and down the cellar, they did not discover the frightened occupants in their place of safety. For although their hearts were beating violently with fear, they kept "as still as a mouse," and so were saved.

THE LAST OF THE PURITANS.

It is said that one of the reasons given for calling Samuel Adams "The Last of the Puritans," was the fact that he, was the last man so far as known, in New England who wore the Continental costume.

THE NAMES OR APPELLATIONS GIVEN TO SAMUEL ADAMS.

Sam the Maltster. Sam the Publican. The Boston

Tribune. The Man of the Town Meeting. The Puritan Patriot. The Great Debater. The Brain of the Revolution. The Palinurus of the Revolution. The Chief Incendiary in his Majesty's Dominions. The First of Politicians. The Cromwell of America. The Apostle of Liberty. The Father of the Revolution. The Father of America. The Last of the Puritans.

THE STORY OF SAMUEL ADAMS.

FOR A SCHOOL OR CLUB PROGRAMME.

Each numbered paragraph is to be given to a pupil or member to read in a clear, distinct tone.

If the School or Club is small, each person may take three or four paragraphs, but should not be required to recite them in succession.

1. Samuel Adams was born in Boston, Massachusetts, September 16, 1722. His remote ancestors were Welsh.

2. Henry Adams, who came from Devonshire, England, had two grandsons. One of these, Joseph Adams, was the grandfather of President John Adams, the other John Adams, a sea captain, was the grandfather of Samuel Adams, the great statesman.

3. The father of Samuel Adams, who bore the same name, was a man of wealth and influence. He was a leader of men, and held several important offices of trust and honor.

4. His father was very fond of politics, and founded the "Caulker's Club," from which the word, "Caucus," has been derived.

5. Samuel Adams inherited from his father his political tastes and aptitudes.

6. His mother's name was Mary Fifield. She was a pious and devoted woman, and imparted to Samuel his sturdy, moral character.

7. Samuel first studied in the Boston Latin School, then was graduated from Harvard College in 1740. He was there a close student of the Greek and Latin authors, and often quoted from them in his writings.

8. What was afterwards said of Lord Macaulay was true of Samuel Adams. "He was as much at home with Cicero and Atticus as with the statesmen of his own day."

9. He was especially fond of the writings of John Locke, whose famous essays on "The Human Understanding," and on "The Principles of Free Government," very greatly shaped his career.

10. When he took his Master's degree he chose as a theme, "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." We see that "Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined."

11. Though it was his intention at first to enter the ministry, he abandoned the idea, and entered into mercantile life.

12. He soon found himself unfitted for business, and began to devote himself to politics, and the contribution of articles on political subjects to the newspapers of Boston.

13. His father, whom he greatly admired, respected and loved, died in 1748. He then carried on the malting business in his father's stead, and was called by his political enemies, "Sammy, the Maltster."

14. When he was appointed, soon after, tax collector for the town of Boston, he was nicknamed by the wits of the time, "Sammy, the Publican."

15. He married, October 17, 1749, Elizabeth Checkley, a woman of marked personal beauty, grace of manner, and sterling character.

16. He now developed his powers in political affairs. "He had all the courage and indomitable perseverance of his cousin, John Adams, but without his bluntness of manner."

17. "As an adroit political manager he was not surpassed by Jefferson, whom he resembled in his thorough going democracy."

18. He formed a private political club in Boston, of which he was the ruling spirit.

19. It became the secret source from which proceeded the steady and persistent resistance to British aggression.

20. This resistance, beginning in Boston, soon embraced all New England, and finally the whole country.

21. It was in his forty-second year that his great political power began, and in the same year, his first wife having died in 1757, he married Elizabeth Wells, the daughter of Francis Wells, Esq., of Boston.

22. She was a woman most admirably fitted in every way to sympathize with him, and assist him in his great life work.

23. He drafted the resolutions, in 1764, against Grenville's Stamp Act. The next year he was elected to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and officiated as clerk until 1774.

24. During this eventful year he drew up the remarkable State Papers, which have given him undying fame.

25. When the king sent troops into Boston, contrary to the will of its citizens, Samuel Adams on the platform, in the work-shops,

in the homes of the people, and on the streets, denounced the outrage.

26. He declared that every soldier who set foot in Massachusetts ought to be shot down.

27. He said, "The king has no right to send troops here to invade the country; if they come, they will come as foreign enemies. We will not submit to any tax or become slaves.

28. "We will take up arms and spend our last drop of blood, before the King and Parliament shall impose on us, or settle Crown officers independent of the Colonial Legislature, to dragoon us."

29. He said a little later, "We are free, therefore, and want no king. The times were never better in Rome than when they had no king, and were a free State."

30. After the tragic Boston Massacre, he went as the representative of the people to Governor Hutchinson, and compelled him by the force of his manner and his stern, unequivocal language to remove the hated troops from Boston.

31. In 1772, he moved the appointment of a "Committee of Correspondence," which organized the American Revolution, for it led directly up to the Continental Congress.

32. In 1773, he gave the signal for the destruction of the tea in the Boston harbor, and the Boston Tea Party went forever into history.

33. He left General Gage in the lurch at Salem, by locking the door of the building where the General Court was in session, and carrying through the election of delegates to the Continental Congress.

34. He again left General Gage in the rear when Hancock and himself went over the hills and valleys, out of the reach of the regulars, at Lexington, April 18, 1775, to their immortal work in securing the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia.

35. For eight years he took an active and important part in the work of the Congress; and then went to the discharge of his political duties in his own beloved Massachusetts.

36. As a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, of the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, as Lieutenant Governor and Governor, he faithfully performed his part.

37. He was gathered at last to his fathers, like a shock of corn fully ripe in his season, on the second of October, 1803, and all that was mortal of him was laid away to rest in the Granary Burying Ground, in the city for whose welfare and glory he had labored nearly three score years.

38. The mother of George the Third, said to him on his accession to the throne, "George *be king*."

39. There was one man over whom he could not be king, with his own and his mother's idea of royalty, and he was Samuel Adams.

40. James Parton says: "Lord North fought the American Revolution from the Stamp Act to the surrender of Cornwallis, with a bought majority in the House of Commons."

41. Samuel Adams spurned the tempting offer of a British peerage, refused a place among its august aristocracy, and a salary of two thousand guineas a year from the king.

42. When the king could neither bribe nor intimidate our hero and his fellow patriots, then he wanted war.

43. When the news of the rebellion reached him, he rubbed his hands exultingly and said, "Now the die is cast, four regiments will bring the Americans to their senses."

44. Poor George! he never came to his senses, even when "Sam Adams' Conspiracy," as he termed it, had so wonderfully succeeded.

45. It broke the heart of Lord North when the news of the surrender of Cornwallis reached him, but as Dr. Barrows says: "It could not fracture the skull of George the Third."

46. The Massachusetts Senate, in 1804, had an acrimonious debate over the resolutions offered to the memory of Samuel Adams, and cut out their most expressive, eulogistic features.

47. John Adams wrote, that for thirty years a systematic course had been pursued to run Samuel Adams down.

48. But Massachusetts has made full amends for the wrong done her noblest son.

49. In her State House, his marble face looks down upon the beholder in its Doric Hall, where stand the statues of Andrew and Sumner, of Lincoln and Washington.

50. Massachusetts was empowered, with the other States, some time ago, to place in the old hall of the House of Representatives, the statues of her two representative men.

51. The two men she selected as the most representative of that grand Puritan Commonwealth, were John Winthrop, the first Governor of the old Bay Colony, and Samuel Adams.

52. In Dock Square, Boston, now called Adams Square in his honor, has been erected the bronze copy of Miss Whitney's noble statue in Washington, of the people's uncompromising champion.

53. There he stands, with folded arms, defiantly waiting an answer from Governor Hutchinson to his unwavering demand, "*Both regiments or none!*"

54. Though neglected and traduced so long, by those who ought never to have forgotten his transcendent services to his country, Jefferson regretted that he could not call the aged statesman to the foremost place in his own administration.

55. The ablest thinkers and leaders of American thought have been adding, during these later years, to his justly deserved renown.

56. George W. Curtis said of him: "He lifted the Continental Congress in his arms, and hurled it beyond the irrevocable line of Independence."

57. Garfield declared him to be the greatest embodiment of the Revolutionary ideas. Winthrop says he conquered the British Cabinet and king with a Puritan Town Meeting.

58. Dr. John Henry Barrows says: "More than any other patriot, he toiled to root in the minds of the people those convictions of human right which blossomed into martial heroism at Lexington and Bunker Hill."

59. John Fiske says: "He was second only in the history of the American Revolution to Washington himself.

60. Professor Hosmer maintains "That as far as the genesis of America is concerned, he can be more properly called 'The Father of America' than Washington himself."

PROGRAMME FOR A SAMUEL ADAMS EVENING.

1. Instrumental Music—Variations of Patriotic Airs.
2. Recitation—"Puritan Politics in England and New England." Edward Everett Hale. (See Old South Leaflets, Fifth Series, 1887.)
3. Essay—Repeal of the Stamp Act, (See Speeches of Sumner, p. 335.)
4. Vocal Solo—"Star Spangled Banner," or other Patriotic Song.
5. Essay—Story of the Boston Massacre. (See Atlantic Monthly, Nov., 1863, pp. 607-8-9, for an excellent account, or any good general History of the United States.)
6. Anecdotes of Samuel Adams.
7. The names given to Adams; and the names under which he wrote.
8. Brief Discussion on George the Third and his Ministers.
9. Question Box.
10. "America"—Sung by all present.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW.

What have you to say about history? What about the romance of history? What was the forerunner of the American Revolution? Who were the inhabitants of the New England Colonies? Who of the Southern States? What has been the influence of New England in the United States? Of the Town Meeting? What proportion of troops did New England furnish during the Revolutionary War? What proportion Massachusetts?

What important fact must be kept in mind regarding the American Revolution? What was the real attitude of the English nation towards the Colonies? Name some despotic monarchs? Name some Englishmen opposed to the Colonies? Name the great English states-

men who were in favor of them? What are some quotations from their speeches and sayings?

What are some of the characteristics of Samuel Adams as a statesman in contrast with a demagogue? What were some of his qualities? What two names given to Samuel Adams were linked together? Why? Who were some of the co-patriots of Samuel Adams? What is said of them?

What was the personal appearance of Samuel Adams? His manner? His dress? Who were his ancestors? Who the founders of the family in Massachusetts? When and where was he born? What was the influence of Samuel Adams' mother? What is said of his father? What story is told of the punctuality of young Adams? What of interest was there in his College life? What was the topic of his master's oration?

Who was his first wife, and what were her characteristics? What led up to the contemplated selling of his property at auction? What kind of a Tax Collector was Samuel Adams? What are the facts regarding his alleged defalcation? What were "Writs of Assistance?" What was "The Stamp Act Bill?" Who was the second wife of Samuel Adams? What were her characteristics?

What was "The Sugar Bill?" Who opposed Grenville? What was the effect of the passage of the Stamp Act? What was the effect of its repeal?

What was Samuel Adams' relation to John Hancock? Who was Governor Bernard? What were his characteristics? Who was Joseph Hawley? What have you to say about the consistency of Samuel Adams? What was the attitude of the best English statesmen regarding the trial of Samuel Adams for treason? What were the causes leading up to "The Boston Massacre?" What were the principal features of that important incident?

What were the principal features of "The Boston Tea Party?" What were the interesting features of the meeting of the General Court at Salem? What was the feeling of Parliament regarding the destruction of the tea? What stroke of policy was made by Samuel Adams in the Congress at Philadelphia? Who supported Adams in his plans? What is the substance of the Earl of Chatham's tribute to the Continental Congress?

What are the principal features connected with the address of Warren, March 6, 1775? Who were the Minute Men? What were the principal events leading up to the Battle of Lexington? What did William Dawes and Paul Revere do? What is the substance of the language of George William Curtis on the Battle of Lexington?

What was the attitude in general of the Congress towards Samuel Adams in the early days of 1775?

What were the principal features of the appointment of Washington as Commander-in-Chief? When was the Battle of Bunker Hill fought? What was the relation of Samuel Adams to Dr Warren? What was the character of General Charles Lee?

What was the substance of Samuel Adams' reply to the Quakers of Philadelphia? What were the principal features connected with the signing of the Declaration of Independence?

What are the facts relating to the supposed enmity of Samuel Adams to Washington? What were the principal features of Samuel Adams' relation to the Federal Constitution? What was his relation towards Hancock at the close of his life? What was his relation to the common schools? What was his relation to the theatre? What honor did General Strong pay him? When and where did he die? What were the principal features of his funeral? Where was he buried?

What is the story of the attempt of Governor Gage to bribe Samuel Adams? What is said of the proscription of Adams and Hancock? What was Samuel Adams' loyalty to non-importation? What is the story of Adams' new clothes? What is the story of the mixture of tea? What was Adams' social character? What was his fearlessness and boldness? His hopefulness and piety? His determination? What was he as a "power behind the throne?" What is the story of Adams and the Scotchman?

What was his breadth of view? His integrity? His knowledge of human nature? Ruling passion and aim? What were his qualities as a public speaker? What is the story of little Elizabeth Rolfe and the Indians? What are some of the names given to Samuel Adams?

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The character and services of the Earl of Chatham.*
2. *The character and services of William Pitt.*
3. *The administration of Governor Bernard.*
4. *The administration of Governor Hutchinson.*
5. *The different kinds of Colonial Governments.*
6. *The Charter of Massachusetts Bay.*
7. *The Boston Massacre.*
8. *The trial of the officers and soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre.*
9. *The Destruction of the Tea.*
10. *Representative men in Boston History.*
11. *Samuel Adams as a Writer.*
12. *Samuel Adams as a Speaker.*
13. *Samuel Adams as a Politician.*
14. *The Town Meeting.*
15. *The year 1777.*
16. *History in the Boston Streets.*

In the study of these and kindred subjects, "The Old South Leaflets," prepared by Edwin D. Mead, and published by D. C. Heath & Co., are most cordially recommended. They are full of valuable information.

CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF SAMUEL ADAMS.

1722 Born in Boston, September 16.
1736 Enters Harvard College.
1748 Helps found "*The Public Advertiser.*"
1749 Marries Elizabeth Checkley, October 17.
1763-65 Serves as Tax Collector.
1764 Drafts the Report of Instructions of the Boston Town Meeting, on Parliamentary Taxation, May 24.
Originates the first plan to unite the Colonies against Parliamentary Oppression.
Marries Elizabeth Wells for his second wife, December 6.
1765 Passage of the Stamp Act by Parliament, March. "Sons of Liberty" organized, probably Aug. 12. Adams drafts Instructions of Boston Town Meeting on Parliamentary Representation, Sept. 18. Boston Town Meeting elects Adams a Member of the Massachusetts Legislature, Sept. 27.
Drafts the famous Massachusetts Resolves on the Inherent Rights and Privileges of the Province, Oct. 29. Adams writes Remonstrance of the Assembly against the Issue of Moneys for Repairing Forts and Fortifications, November 4.
1766 Meeting of Massachusetts Legislature in which Adams acts on Important Measures, Jan. 15 to Feb. 24. Re-Elected to the Legislature May 6. Repeal of the Stamp Act, March 18.
1767 Adams Elected Clerk of the Legislature, May 27.
1768 He writes the Assembly's Letter to Deberdt on "The True Sentiments of America," Jan. 13. He writes other important Addresses of the Assembly to the Ministry, their Petition to the King, a Circular Letter to other Provincial Assemblies, January and February. Adams writes Reply of the Assembly to the Governor's Message, June 30. Adams concludes that American Independence is a Political and Natural Necessity.
1769 Richard Sylvester makes deposition against Samuel Adams for Treason, Jan. 23. Address to "The Sons of Liberty," by Adams, March 18. Adams re-elected to the Legislature, May 5. Re-elected Clerk. Writes Remonstrance of the House against the Presence of the Troops, May 31. Adams, with James Otis, holds Conference with the Commissioners of the Customs, Sept. 1.
1770 The Boston Massacre, March 5. Adams compels Hutchinson to withdraw the Troops, March 6. Adams Re-elected to the Legislature, May 8. He persuades Hancock to remain in the Boston Delegation, May 11. Adams elected Clerk, May 30. He writes the Replies of the Legislature to Hutchinson, etc., October. He writes the Letter of Instructions of the House to Franklin, Nov. 6.
1771 Adams Re-elected to the Legislature, May 7. Re-elected Clerk, May 29. Adams appointed one of a Committee on

Correspondence, June 27. He drafts a Letter of Instructions to Franklin in London, June 29. He replies for the Assembly to Governor Hutchinson, regarding Arbitrary Instructions received from King George, July 5. He writes various articles for the "*Gazette*" advising the Union of the Colonies and an Assembly of Deputies, Sept. and Oct. He denies Parliamentary supreme authority over the Colonies, in various articles and essays, Oct., Dec., and Jan. 1772.

1772 Adams victorious over the opposition to his measures in the Legislature, April 8. Re-elected to the Legislature against great opposition, May 6. He drafts for the Committee of the House, "The Rights of the Colonies," Nov. 20.

1773 Adams replies to Hutchinson on the supremacy of Parliament, Jan. 26. Adams writes a rejoinder to Hutchinson's reply on Parliamentary supremacy, March 2. Virginia organizes a Continental Committee on Correspondence, March 12.

Adams re-elected to the Legislature, May 6. Re-appointed clerk, May 26. Adams' Resolutions, confirming action of Virginia, passed, May 28. Adams denounced by Hutchinson to the ministry, Oct. 9. Adams composes a letter to the other Colonies, for the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Oct. 21. The signal for the "Boston Tea Party" given by Adams, Dec. 16.

1774 The Committees defended by Adams against the Governor's opening address, Feb. 5. Letter by Adams to the other Provinces, and instructions to Franklin, March 28. Adams re-elected to the Legislature, May 10. Adams prepares a letter to the Committees of the other Colonies on the Tea Question, May 12.

"A Continental Non-Importation League," proposed at a town meeting presided over by Adams, May 13. Adams moves resolutions to appoint five delegates to a Continental Congress at Philadelphia, June 17. The Government tries in vain to corrupt Adams, July. Adams journeys to the Congress at Philadelphia, Aug. 10-29.

Continental Congress meets at Philadelphia, Sept. 5. Adams re-elected to the Legislature, Sept. 21. Continental Congress having dissolved, Adams returns to Boston, Oct. 26. Meeting of the Provincial Congress, in which Adams urges active measures, Nov. 23.

1775 Massachusetts declared by England to be in a state of rebellion, Jan. Adams sends letter to the friends of liberty in Canada, Feb. 21. Adams drafts a letter to the Mohawks, March 22. The British set out to seize Adams and Hancock at Lexington. Battle of Lexington, April 18, 19. Adams and Hancock go to the Second Continental Congress at Philadelphia, April 19 to May 10. Second Continental Congress meets. Adams urges an immediate Declaration of In-

dependence, May 10, etc. General Gage offers pardon to all except Adams and Hancock, June 12. Washington elected Commander-in-Chief on nomination of John and Samuel Adams, June 15. Continental Congress adjourns. Funds for the Army carried by Adams to General Washington, August 1-11. Adams becomes member of the Council and is elected Secretary of State, Aug. 15. Continental Congress meets. Adams renders active service, Sept. 13, etc.

1776 Adams proposes to try a separate Confederacy, with New England alone, if necessary, Jan. Adams advocates the disarming of the Tories, and urges retaliation against British outrages, Jan. 2 to March 14. Adams re-elected a delegate to Congress, Jan. 19.

Adams publishes addresses to the people of Pennsylvania on the Quaker doctrine of submission, Feb. 3, etc. He supports the resolutions for an independent government, May 10.

Declaration of Independence discussed and adopted, July 2-4. Returns to Congress, Oct. 24. Appointed chairman of Committee on the State of the Northern Army. He advises giving Washington dictatorial powers, Dec.

1777 Congress reduced to twenty members. Adams still full of hope, Sept. and Oct. The Articles of Confederation signed, Nov. 15. Adams arrives in Boston, Dec. 4.

1778 Adams takes his seat in Congress, and is made chairman of the Marine Committee, May 21. Adams is re-elected delegate to Congress, Nov., Dec.

1779 Adams returns to Boston, and resumes the duties of Secretary of State, June 20. He urges sending troops to aid Rhode Island and Connecticut, July. He is elected representative from Boston to the State Constitutional Convention, August. He becomes member of the Council, Sept. 9. Adams, with others, draft a Constitution, by order of the Convention held at Cambridge, Sept. 1, etc.

1780 Adams, in an address for the Convention, explains the Constitution, Feb. He becomes an incorporator of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, May 4. He goes with Elbridge Gerry to Philadelphia, and secures re-inforcements for the Highlands which are in danger from the British, June, etc. Adams and Gerry take their seats in Congress, June 29. He is defeated as candidate for Secretary of State at home, October.

1781 Adams not in favor of the creation of Secretaries of War, Finance and Foreign Relations, with separate departments. Adams takes final leave of Congress and returns to Boston, April. He declines an election to Congress. Serves again as President of the Massachusetts Senate, Feb. 20. He drafts resolutions expressing the determination of Massachusetts to continue the war until independence is secured, July

Adams is defeated as candidate for Governor. He is re-elected to the Senate, April.

1784 Adams does not favor the Order of the Cincinnati, April. He is re-elected to the Senate of Massachusetts, and again chosen President, April. He is elected to Congress, but declines, November.

1786 Is re-elected to the Senate, but declines a seat in the Council, April, May.

1787 Writes the declaration of the Senate regarding Shay's rebellion, Feb. 3-5. Is re-elected President of the Council, April.

1788 Assists in the ratification of the Constitution of the United States in the Massachusetts Convention, Jan. 9 to Feb. 6. Is defeated as candidate for Congress, Dec.

1789-92 Adams serves as Lieut. Governor. He becomes Governor on the death of Governor Hancock, Oct. 8.

1794 He is chosen Governor to succeed Hancock.

1795 Adams is re-elected Governor, May.

1796 Adams opposes Jay's treaty. He is re-elected Governor, and is fifth on the list of candidates for the Presidency.

1798 He retires from public life.

1803 Death of Adams, Oct. 2. Difficulty in obtaining a proper escort for his funeral, Oct. 6.

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